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## MID-VICTORIAN LIBERALISM IN CENTRAL CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS, 1850-67\*

IT would clearly be inadequate to assess the cultural life of a modern community through its newspapers. Yet such an approach seems necessary for an understanding of the intellectual development of the English-speaking part of the Province of Canada in the mid-nineteenth century. In the eighteen-fifties and sixties Canada West was just emerging from the all-embracing pioneer struggle. A raw young community, it imported the bulk of its books and ideas and was almost without native literary expression. It did, however, have its own press. Journalism may often be a rather dubious form of literature, but the investigator must work with what is available. Hence the Central Canadian press of the Confederation era is particularly significant because there is little else with which to test the mind of the Canadians in this crucial period when the modern Canadian state was coming into existence. And the thoughts and opinions dominant in these years were vitally important in shaping the future national character.

It is also true that, although much smaller and simpler, the Canadian newspapers of this era were generally of a higher intellectual calibre and of greater influence in their community than most of our modern journals. The nineteenth century was perhaps the golden age of the press, when the reading public, undistracted by the competing charms of radio, movies, and television, gave a single-minded attention to its newspapers. This was the age of great political journalists—in Canada, of editors like William Lyon Mackenzie and George Brown—when readers hung eagerly on the world of these lords of opinion and did not escape to the sports page, the comic strips, or to a confusion of syndicated columnists. The Canadian press of a century ago was of major importance in mirroring the mind of the community, and in helping to shape it as well.

For the purpose of a paper, not a book, any discussion of this press must be drastically limited in scope. Accordingly, it is possible here to examine only the Toronto journals among the many published in Central Canada in these years. There is reason

\*This is the first of three papers, printed in this issue, which were presented at the Regional Conference, Humanities Research Council of Canada, Kingston, June 10, 1950, in a symposium on the cultural and intellectual development of Central Canada in the nineteenth century.

in this, however, even for non-Torontonians. It is useful to choose a complete community of newspapers for analysis, and what more suitable than that of the chief city of Canada West, its political, economic, and intellectual centre, whose principal journals had the largest circulation in the province? Furthermore, during this mid-century period the Toronto press was taking on a metropolitan character and attaining a province-wide circulation, thanks to the advent of railways, cheap postage, and the rise of Toronto itself towards metropolitan stature. The English-speaking Montreal papers could not hope to gain so wide a constituency. Leading Hamilton, London, Ottawa, or Kingston journals might each have a large local circulation. The Toronto press, however, entered all these areas, and two of its members, the *Globe* and *Leader*, stood out over all the province as the giants of Canadian journalism, quite comparable in circulation to important British and American papers of the day.

The other main newspapers in Toronto between 1850 and 1867 were, on the Reform or Liberal side, the *North American* and the *Examiner*, and, on the Conservative, the *Patriot* and the *British or Daily Colonist*. The *North American* was established in 1850 as the organ of the new Clear Grit radical movement. The *Examiner* was a much older paper, founded in 1838 by Francis Hincks to fight the battle for responsible government. But by the mid-century mark, its place as the chief Reform newspaper had been usurped by the *Globe*, begun in 1844 by the energetic young George Brown. Largely in retaliation, the *Examiner* tended to make common cause with the *North American* against Brown and his journal. In the early fifties the *Globe* battled hard against the alleged extremism of these Clear Grit partners. In fact, it scorned the very name "Clear Grit," until, after the shattering of the Reform party by the Liberal-Conservative coalition of 1854, the Brownite and Clear Grit groups came together to oppose the coalition ministry, and gradually accepted the name of "Grit" for a watered-down version of original Clear Grit radicalism.

The Toronto *Leader* was founded in 1852 as a moderate Liberal organ. In 1854 it followed the Hincksite Liberals into the coalition with the Conservatives, and henceforth espoused the Liberal-Conservative ministerial cause against the *Globe* and the opposition forces of Reform. Nevertheless for years the *Leader* claimed to be upholding true and pure Liberalism against the wild-eyed, factious followers of George Brown. The *British Colonist* was avowedly Conservative, but more moderate in its Conservatism than the



*Patriot* which was, on the whole, the Orangemen's organ, the fervent defender of the British tie and the glorious memory of King William III.

The *Examiner* and *North American* were bought out by the *Globe* in 1855, the *Patriot* by the *Leader* in 1854. The *Colonist* died of malnutrition in 1858. For most of the period, accordingly, the *Globe* and *Leader* held the field between them. The most significant point emerging from an analysis of these two powerful newspapers, the two main organs of the opposing sides in politics, is that they shared the same general framework of ideas. They looked to British institutions and precedents, turned their backs on things American, and accepted the chief political and economic doctrines of contemporary mid-Victorian Britain. In fact, mid-Victorian Liberalism seems the best term to describe the pattern of their thought and opinions. To the left of the *Globe*, the *Examiner* and *North American* were plainly more liberal, or radical, than British. To the right of the *Leader*, the *Colonist* and *Patriot* were more British than liberal. But in general, this pattern of mid-Victorian Liberalism, though admittedly fraying at the edges, may be applied to the whole Toronto newspaper community during the Confederation era. Here was British thought deep in North America, in the most influential press in Canada, and at a critical time in her history. Its meaning deserves investigation.

To make such an inquiry, one might follow many threads of ideas through the questions discussed in these journals, but there is room to deal with only a few main aspects of their opinions. Those most in evidence concern the value which they placed on British political institutions and ideas, their acceptance of Cobdenite economic doctrine, and the stress they laid on issues involving the relations of church and state. Turning to the first of these topics, we are immediately struck by the amount of time spent in the Toronto journals in weighing the relative merits of the British and the American political systems, to the detriment of American democracy. Since Canada had won the right to govern herself in internal affairs by 1850, the question of how to use this right naturally assumed a new importance. Was the British technique of responsible cabinet government, used to win autonomy, a sufficient end in itself or only a means to further political change? Now that Canadians governed themselves, should they adopt new political machinery?

It is true that the *North American*, at least, did accept the American version of democracy. Indeed, it was founded to press

for further political change and for new democratic machinery in Canada. This paper and its early Clear Grit associates declared for complete "elective institutions"—an elected governor, upper house, and local officials, and full manhood suffrage. The "aristocratical" forms of the British constitution were deemed unsuited to North America. It was argued that without a written constitution and the separation of powers, ministries were too powerful, extravagant, and corrupt. The state governments of New York or Ohio were urged as the true models to follow.<sup>1</sup> The *Examiner* echoed the *North American* in this Clear Grit crusade, but with less grasp of theoretical arguments and much harking back to the good old days of the Reform party under William Lyon Mackenzie.<sup>2</sup> Mackenzie, incidentally, was a frequent contributor to its pages during the early fifties.

The rest of the press, however, was at least equally fervent in defence of British institutions. The *Patriot* and *Colonist* boiled with indignant loyalty. The *Leader* and *Globe* set out to prove the superiority of the British system in liberty, efficiency, and honesty, and the worthlessness of American republicanism. In fact, these papers were quite ready to indict one another with the most damning charge of all: a leaning towards American ideas. Thus the *Colonist* somehow found that the "prosaic manderings" of the *Leader* were too close to the American "ravings of ultra-republicanism,"<sup>3</sup> even though the *Leader* had earlier been attacking "republican equality" as a state "where all men are born free and equal, with certain black exceptions," and had characterized the position of the President of the United States as "the slave of the Rabble."<sup>4</sup> And the *Patriot*, as always, expressed a most decided faith in Canadian Conservatism, "which clings to the BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL system of Government as superior to all others, believing it to possess within itself those inherent principles of elasticity and vigor which adapt to the various circumstances of the people, and enable it to meet, with becoming vigor and suitability, the increased intellectual and progressive knowledge of the country."<sup>5</sup>

Yet since the main concern of this paper is with the Liberal side, it is perhaps most significant that the *Toronto Globe* was so

<sup>1</sup>*North American* (weekly), Oct. 30 to Nov. 22, 1850; Jan. 17, Feb. 14, 1851.

<sup>2</sup>*Examiner* (weekly), Sept. 5, 19, 1849; Mar. 20, 1850; May 31, 1854; Jan. 3, 1855.

<sup>3</sup>*Daily Colonist*, Jan. 24, 1856. The daily edition of the *Colonist* was so titled. That issued three times a week was named the *British Colonist*.

<sup>4</sup>*Leader* (daily), Aug. 14, Dec. 8, 1854.

<sup>5</sup>*Patriot* (daily), May 24, 1853.

definite, so explicit, and so well informed in arguing the case in favour of the British system of government. This was the largest Liberal journal, the one which soon absorbed the heretical *North American* and *Examiner*, but kept no part of their doctrines; the paper which became identified with the Reform cause, but underlined the British affiliations of Liberalism in rebuilding the Reform party. During the years 1850 to 1855 the issue of elective institutions was a major one in Central Canadian politics, although one somewhat neglected by our historians. This issue was exhaustively canvassed by the *Globe*, which tirelessly upheld the British model.

It is true that later, in 1859, the year of gloom and frustration after the failure of the Brown-Dorion government, the *Globe* did toy with written constitutional checks and elected ministries as the solution to Canada's political difficulties; but it soon turned its back on these to offer a combination of responsible government and federation as the way out. And when Confederation became not a distant possibility but a definite project, George Brown's journal again insisted on the British system as the basis for a national government. In fact, it favoured the federal principle as a device which would permit Canada to retain the virtues of the British parliamentary constitution while meeting the North American problem of sectionalism.<sup>6</sup>

The *Globe's* viewpoint on the constitution appears most clearly with regard to an elected upper house. At the time of Confederation, the paper strongly urged that the new federal senate be not elected but appointed, since under the British parliamentary system a second chamber should have only the minor role of amending and delaying, and should not be able to thwart the national will of the much more significant house of commons. Two elected houses on the American model, on the other hand, might both claim a popular mandate, and if opposed to each other, deadlock the constitution.<sup>7</sup>

This was the same stand that the *Globe* had taken in the early fifties when the campaign for an elected upper house for the Province of Canada was the main focus of the elective institutions question.<sup>8</sup> The paper had to fight this battle on two fronts. The Clear Grit journals desired an elective legislative council as a step towards the American democratic system. The Conservative

<sup>6</sup>*Globe* (daily), Sept. 14, 1859; July 15, 1864.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 20, 1864.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, Mar. 23, 1852.

press sought it for other reasons, in part because the existing nominated council was solidly entrenched with Liberal appointees, and also because an upper house elected on a highly qualified franchise would form a stronger bulwark against dangerous radical tendencies. Denying any subservience to Americanism, the Conservative papers could claim that an elected council was not an American innovation since it had been adopted in other British colonies far from the shores of the United States. Still the *Globe* viewed it as the thin edge of the Yankee wedge.<sup>9</sup> A majority composed of Clear Grits and some Conservative and Liberal elements managed to carry an act for an elective council in 1855, but the *Globe* had the satisfaction of seeing the measure undone at Confederation. And it is worth noting that at this later time the *Leader*, now the chief Conservative organ, agreed that an elected council had been a mistake, although it gave as its reason the danger of too much democracy if both houses were elected. And democracy, it said, meant "the dead level of forced and false equality."<sup>10</sup>

It is well to keep in mind that in Canada during the mid-nineteenth century democracy was still a suspect word, with Jacobin, or at any rate American, overtones. The Conservative journals would certainly have none of it, and both the *Leader* and *Globe* pointed to the evils of rule by the masses. "Our form of government is not a democracy," said the *Leader* during the American Civil War, "unbridled and uncontrolled . . . completely in the hands of the mob."<sup>11</sup> Only the *North American* was whole-hearted in its democratic faith. The *Examiner* declared "a plague on both your houses." It condemned indeed the "flunkeyism" of British society and government, but also attacked the "tyranny and slavery of the republican Americans."<sup>12</sup> If Britain had noblemen, the United States had slaves. In this, one is tempted to see the reaction of Mackenzie himself, soured first with Britain and then with the United States—as indeed he said he was, on his return to Canada from his American exile.

Both the *Leader* and the *Globe* in their view of democracy expressed the central position of mid-Victorian Liberalism. Both declared for a wide, popular electorate but still wanted a qualified franchise to recognize property and intelligence, and to prevent the rule of ignorance and mere numbers. The former journal, to

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1850; Apr. 13, 1852; Mar. 24, 1854.

<sup>10</sup>*Leader*, Oct. 3, 1864.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1862.

<sup>12</sup>*Examiner*, July 25, 1855.

be sure, attacked George Brown's doctrine of representation by population as an un-British principle of numbers,<sup>13</sup> but the latter denied that its cherished policy implied universal suffrage.<sup>14</sup> The *Leader* quoted from John Stuart Mill on the tyranny of the majority and urged plural votes for "the virtue of industry and thrift which acquires and preserves property."<sup>15</sup> The *Globe* rejected "that broad and tumultuous constituency which has no restriction in residence or property," and scorned "the unwashed multitudes who boast of universal suffrage."<sup>16</sup> It claimed besides that a limited franchise secured the truest expression of the public mind; while, "the lower we go in the scale of suffrage the more we add to that dangerous element."<sup>17</sup> The *Globe* also agreed with Liberals in Britain that the franchise should be extended no faster than public education, the Liberal panacea, could proceed.<sup>18</sup> In short, there was in this mid-century Canadian press little of the spirit of American Jeffersonian or Jacksonian democracy with their faith in the natural worth of the common man.

The economic views of these Canadian journals approximated as closely to the pattern of British mid-Victorian Liberalism as did their political views. The *Globe* was most fully and consciously Cobdenite in endorsing the British Manchester School philosophy of free trade and the reign of natural economic laws. Cobden, Bright, and their disciple at the Chancery of the Exchequer, Gladstone, were its economic patron saints. The paper frequently discoursed on the evil of state interference with "the laws of trade," attacking usury laws especially, lectured on sound currency with many quotations from British classical economists, and viewed tariff protection as something between stupidity and sacrilege.<sup>19</sup> It need hardly be said that the *Globe* regularly condemned the United States protective tariff and any heretical protectionist tendencies in Canada.

Its views on labour relations and problems of social welfare were similarly orthodox: labour unions were not to infringe on the liberal right of free contract (this was especially so in the case of strikes at the *Globe* office); strikes could not raise wages artificially,

<sup>13</sup>*Leader*, Apr. 3, 1865.

<sup>14</sup>*Globe*, Apr. 12, July 24, 1861; June 23, 1864.

<sup>15</sup>*Leader*, Oct. 3, 4, 1864.

<sup>16</sup>*Globe*, June 1, 1850; May 19, 1865.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1851; Sept. 23, 1857.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, May 4, 1852.

<sup>19</sup>See J. M. S. Careless, "The Toronto *Globe* and Agrarian Radicalism, 1850-67" (*Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1948, 32-4) for economic doctrines of the *Globe* relevant to this and the succeeding paragraph.

"by flying in the face of nature"; and if the masses suffered in old lands, the only solution was to educate them to understand their lot as dictated by political economy, and to urge them to emigrate in order to enable the labour market automatically to adjust itself. The state should not step in. The *Globe's* economic individualism was indeed tempered by humanitarianism, and it deplored the doctrinaire rigidity of the more extreme followers of Jeremy Bentham. These same qualifications, however, were being made in Britain within the general context of mid-Victorian Liberalism. In sum, the *Globe* found its authorities, doctrines, and proper practice in economic matters in contemporary Liberal Britain, and condemned any American deviations from the British norm.

The other journals were less explicit and less theoretical in setting forth their economic beliefs. Yet these can be gleaned from the attitudes they assumed towards practical issues in Canadian affairs. In commercial policy, for instance, the *North American* did not accept the prevalent United States model, and attacked "the antiquated notions of American Protectionists."<sup>20</sup> It wanted complete free trade and direct taxation, along with the abolition of customs duties. The *Examiner* shared this general position, praising Cobden, "the lion," for his sound political economy and his programme of free trade and retrenchment in Britain. At the same time it condemned the old protectionist imperial policy as a "clumsy system of mutual monopoly."<sup>21</sup> The *Patriot*, on the other hand, still looked back hopefully to the defunct colonial system, and, as a good old-fashioned Tory, opposed Whig-Liberal free trade in Britain or Canada. Nevertheless it used the language of current economic liberalism in advocating the repeal of usury laws in Canada. Money should be left "to flow in its natural channels." The legislator had no more power to control profit than to prevent water finding its own level. "He cannot alter the law of nature."<sup>22</sup>

The Conservative *Colonist* held that it was hopeless for the *Patriot* to dream of Britain returning to protection, although it praised the Tories and "honest Protectionists" in England—always excepting Disraeli, whose sudden conversion to free trade in 1852 it thought "indecent."<sup>23</sup> The *Colonist*, however, did think that protection was both sound and feasible in the case of Canada; but felt that the practical course lay between British free trade and the American high tariff, through a tariff designed to create revenue and offer some measure of "incidental protection" at the same

<sup>20</sup>*North American*, Mar. 7, 1851.

<sup>22</sup>*Patriot*, Nov. 18, 1852.

<sup>21</sup>*Examiner*, Jan. 30, 1850.

<sup>23</sup>*British Colonist*, Mar. 19, June 29, 1852.

time.<sup>24</sup> In this matter the *Colonist* was, as usual, practical in its approach and middle-of-the-road in its decisions, seemingly less concerned than the other papers with the theoretical background of its policies.

The *Leader* also took the practical view with regard to Canadian trade policy: the colony needed the revenue derived from customs duties, and these might well be arranged to offer incidental encouragement to rising Canadian manufactures. In theory, however, it claimed to adhere to the liberal doctrine of free trade and rejected "the exploded theories of protection."<sup>25</sup> The *Leader* thus defended Galt's tariff of 1859 as a revenue measure, and not as protectionist in character, noting that even free-trade Britain still found it necessary to raise a large revenue by customs duties on non-essential articles. Canada could not be charged with adopting "a discarded policy of protection," because she, too, could not afford absolute free trade.<sup>26</sup> But the journal also recognized that "a young community that has just assumed the responsibilities of a separate national existence has many temptations to violate the principles of economic science," and so had to beware the protectionist "nonsense about the desirability of a nation doing everything for itself."<sup>27</sup>

The *Leader* used the proper liberal phrases on currency questions. It too paid homage to the water-level principle by pointing out that "money will go to the dearest market as sure as water flows down hill."<sup>28</sup> Any interference with the value of money was "absurdly injurious," as absurd as fixing food prices by state action; but "this mist of ignorance must soon go in this age of progress, of railroads and steam and sea-spanning telegraphs."<sup>29</sup> Yet towards the close of our period this paper still had to lament the fact that the Toronto Board of Trade was seeking to fix an "artificial" rate of discount for depreciated American silver coins in circulation in the city. Such an attempt showed "an ignorance of those economic laws which no Legislature can overrule."<sup>30</sup>

On labour questions the *Leader* again was orthodox liberal. Disliking the ideas and ideals of trade unionism, it agreed with the *Globe* that the co-operative movement was the true form of unionism for the working classes to pursue, one which permitted them to flourish as capitalists on their own behalf and did not lead them against the immutable laws of economic individualism. The *Leader*

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 23, 1852.

<sup>25</sup>*Leader*, Dec. 20, 1850.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1862.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, May 20, 1857.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 25, 1859.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1857.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1865.



noted that co-operative societies were advocated by Cobden, a man "who perhaps did more for the working men of England than any statesman of his time."<sup>31</sup> But greater still, the *Leader* said, was the authority of John Stuart Mill. It gave long excerpts from Mill's *Political Economy* in support of co-operatives.<sup>32</sup> The trade union as a collective bargaining agency was not so well authorized, as far as the Toronto press was concerned, and the *Colonist*, indeed, referred to the strike of the Toronto Typographical Union of 1854 as "a gross and unreasoning assertion of power," an attempt by the strikers to assume arbitrary control for themselves.<sup>33</sup>

But a much more burning topic in the press of the Confederation era than the incipient Canadian labour movement, usury laws, currency questions, or even tariff problems, was the half-political, half-social issue of the relations of church and state. It had many ramifications. It involved in particular, after 1850, the agitation over the secularization of the clergy reserves, the alleged Lower-Canadian Catholic domination of Canadian politics, and the perennial separate school question. The separation of church and state was far from having been achieved in Canada West during this period. The resolve to fight for that principle led George Brown into active politics, brought him and the Clear Grit originals gradually together, and greatly influenced the character of the western Liberal party which grew under his leadership out of this alliance.

The separation of church and state was doubtless to a considerable extent a narrowly sectarian cry, leaving Brown and the *Globe* and their followers open in that day and this to charges of bigotry. It was also, however, an essential belief in the mind of English-speaking Liberalism in mid-century Canada; and it was associated, above all, not with the United States, where the separation of church and state had already been accomplished, but with the British background, where the struggles of Nonconformity with the state Church of England were very far from over.

In contemporary Britain, Nonconformity had moved on from an acceptance of religious toleration to a demand for religious equality. It was attacking the principle of establishment itself, urging against "state-churchism" the voluntary principle, that is, that churches should be voluntary organizations without state backing or recognition, so that religion might be kept out of politics and politics out of religion. The battle was joined especial-

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, May 5, 1865.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>*Daily Colonist*, June 3, 1854.



ly in the field of education, where the "voluntaries" contended against Anglican control of state-supported schools. Voluntaryism (or voluntarism) was strong in British Liberalism, just as Nonconformity was strong in middle-class, Victorian Liberal ranks. Indeed, Edward Miall, a prominent member of the Manchester School, was editor of the powerful *Nonconformist*, a voluntaryist journal founded to work for disestablishment.

Voluntaryism was equally strong, or stronger, in Canada West. The *Globe*, in fact, observed that many of the Canadian Reformers had brought the voluntarist principle with them from Britain.<sup>34</sup> And, of course, George Brown and his father had themselves been vigorous exponents of voluntaryism in supporting the Free Church in Scotland on its break from the established Presbyterian body. In fact, they had come to Canada initially to found a journal (the *Banner*) in behalf of the Free Kirk party in the colony. Accordingly, in Canadian politics George Brown and the *Globe* contended against every manifestation of "state-churchism," and found many supporters.

In the eighteen-forties they worked for the removal of the University of Toronto from Anglican control, and against attempts to divide the provincial endowment among sectarian colleges. After 1850 they strove for the secularization of the clergy reserves, and to prevent the passage of an increasing number of Lower Canadian "ecclesiastical bills" which, they claimed, implied state recognition of Roman Catholic institutions. Next they plunged into the rising separate school struggle, determined to defend the secular public school system of Canada West against sectarian inroads and "state-church" designs. And whether it was right or wrong in this regard, the Brownite stand was firmly based on the linked principles of voluntaryism—that no public funds should go to church schools—and the separation of church and state—that popular education was a matter for the state alone. For these principles the *Globe* looked to Britain, and found support for them among Victorian Liberals and Nonconformists.

Brown and the *Globe* made the voluntary movement in Canada very much their own. They began to build a new Liberal party about it. Yet the *North American* and *Examiner* also endorsed voluntaryism. The former early declared for "religious equality to the fullest extent," and on occasion railed against Lower-Canadian Catholic influence in the state.<sup>35</sup> The latter became

<sup>34</sup>*Globe*, Apr. 2, 1853.

<sup>35</sup>*North American*, May 31, June 4, Dec. 13, 1850.

almost as bound up in the religious issue as the *Globe*. "Are we slaves to Popish Prelates?" it asked excitedly.<sup>36</sup> "Puseyite state parsons" of Anglicanism were also attacked.<sup>37</sup> "Let the people of this Province eschew the curse of a State-paid clergy of whatever name."<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the *Examiner's* motto, from its inception in 1838, was "Responsible Government and the Voluntary Principle." William Lyon Mackenzie, closely associated with the *Examiner*, worked with George Brown in parliament on his return to the house in the eighteen-fifties on at least one thing, the voluntarist campaign. In this he was one of Brown's first parliamentary allies.

The rest of the Toronto press was not so voluntary-minded. The *Leader* approved the principle of the separation of church and state, but stressed that the stand of the *Globe* and its followers was bigoted and so, illiberal. We prefer, it said, equality with Roman Catholics to domination by bigots.<sup>39</sup> At the same time this journal sought the secularization of the reserves, and was distressed by separate school bills that cut away at the state education in which it believed. Yet the *Leader* recognized a need of compromise with the powerful Catholic population in the province on the separate school issue. Here it was naturally voicing the view of the Coalition between French and English-speaking elements which it supported after 1854.

The *Colonist* could hardly agree with the *Globe's* voluntarism since it was the organ of the Church of Scotland Presbyterians who had held to the side of the established church in the old land. It also attacked the "state irreligion" of the *Leader*, and opposed the purely secular common schools that both *Globe* and *Leader* upheld, desiring some religious instruction in the curriculum.<sup>40</sup> The *Patriot* seemed to share the confusion on the religious issue of its Orange supporters, some of whom put "Protestant liberties" first and joined the voluntarist Protestant Alliance, while others, stressing Tory allegiance, would have nothing to do with this Reform-inspired body. But at length the *Patriot* came down on the side of Toryism; and when Toryism and Orangism came shortly to rest in coalition with the Catholic *Bleus*, the question was closed for it. It was closed even more definitely by the sale of the *Patriot* to the *Leader* in that same year, the political *annus mirabilis*, 1854. Yet whether opposed or friendly to voluntarism, the Conservative journals like the rest dealt fully with the question of the relations

<sup>36</sup>*Examiner*, July 11, 1855.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup>*Leader*, Sept. 1, 1853.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, June 14, 1854.

<sup>40</sup>*Daily Colonist*, Jan. 9, 24, 1856.

of church and state, and with frequent references to British precedents and British conditions.

Here lies the key to this major discussion in the mid-century press, to this question, as well as to those of political institutions and economic policies: the constant reference to British ideas. The same reference could be found elsewhere in the journals, on topics of social welfare, sabbatarian morality, and intellectual standards. The plain fact is that these newspapers felt very strongly the sense of belonging to a British intellectual community, no less than of belonging to a physical British empire. They were in a stream of ideas emanating from Britain at the height of her power and prestige. Nor was this incompatible with their position in North America.

It is well to make clear that no sharp distinction is intended, or really can be made, between "British" and "American" intellectual influences on Canada at this time. The United States itself was then in many ways still a cultural colony of Britain, and ideas originating in Britain might conceivably come into Canada by way of their American modifications. British and American ideas were hence much of the same kind, but the question of the degree of difference is all important. It has here been suggested that most of the newspapers under discussion received their main ideas directly from Britain, and tended to reject any American differences and modifications. No doubt this was not wholly true. In matters, say, of agrarian policy or public education, Canadian opinion owed much to American inspiration, or to general North American experience. But in regard to major problems of government, economic policy, and the relations of church and state, the influential Toronto press—and hence the mind it influenced—expressed itself mainly in British terms. This fact represents a general transfer of British ideas to Canada, to the North American scene.

Qualifications, of course, are necessary. The *North American* was certainly more American than British in its feeling, in that day, for democracy. Yet this paper also claimed that it cared not if a doctrine was British or American as long as it was useful;<sup>41</sup> and there is reason to think that its democratic ideas had British as well as American roots. The writer who explained the *North American's* original programme in a series of well-considered articles was Charles Clarke, an Englishman, whose first political memories were those of Chartism; and there were other Chartist

<sup>41</sup>*North American*, Oct. 31, 1851.

affinities in early Clear Gritism.<sup>42</sup> American democratic examples were usually cited; but so they were by democratic radicals in Britain herself at the time, because the United States naturally supplied the working model of democracy.

The *Examiner* also advocated a pattern of democratic government. But much of its thought here went back to the early days of Mackenzie radicalism, which was certainly open to British influences as well as American, stemming from Hume and Roebuck as well as Andrew Jackson. And the *Examiner*, incidentally, was still receiving its British parliamentary papers from Joseph Hume in the eighteen-fifties. Furthermore, in its economic and voluntarist discussions, this journal looked to British, not American, leaders and precedents.

There seems little difficulty in linking the *Globe* and the *Leader* with British Liberal ideas, nor the Conservative papers at least with British ideas. Moreover, one should recall that the radical and Tory wings of the Toronto press in this period soon declined, leaving the essentially moderate Liberalism of the *Leader*, and of the *Globe*, for all its religious zeal, as most fully expressing the public opinion of the day. Whatever advertisements may bring or clever journalists contrive, in that day at least it was the newspapers with the less popular opinions that went under.

We are left, then, with the general view of a press that transferred its main opinions from Liberal Victorian Britain. Why so? The "colonial attitude of dependence" is not an answer, but merely re-words the question. The reaction against the apparent failure of the democratic experiment in the United States, collapsing into sectionalism in the fifties and aflame in civil war in the sixties, is a better reply, but only a partial one. A more complete explanation would first deal with the fact of British immigration. The great mass movement from Britain into Central Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century had virtually inundated the earlier English-speaking population in the country, which had had deeper North American roots. By 1850 the immigrants had firmly established themselves in their new community and thanks to their numbers had risen to the fore. The extent of their ascendancy in the ensuing period may be quickly recognized by noting how many contemporary Canadian public men, party leaders or Fathers of Confederation, for instance, had been born in Britain. Canada, perhaps, never before or since has been so British.

<sup>42</sup>Charles Clarke, *Sixty Years in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1908), 13, 45, 58, 61.

This was particularly true in the newspaper world, where journalists educated and frequently trained in Britain readily came to lead in what was still largely a half-taught, pioneer community. George and Gordon Brown of the *Globe*, Hugh Scobie, first owner of the *Colonist*, James Lesslie, owner of the *Examiner*, were Scots; Ogle Gowan of the *Patriot* and James Beaty of the *Leader* were Irish; Samuel Thompson, later proprietor of the *Colonist*, David Lindsey, editor at different times of the *Examiner* and *Leader*, and George Sheppard, similarly editor of the *Colonist* and *Leader*, were English. Only William McDougall, owner of the *North American*, was Canadian-born. In respect to this journal, there may be something in a name, after all. But the *Globe* boasted that all its editorial staff were from the old country.<sup>43</sup>

Another point of explanation might lie in the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century this Canadian community was, on the whole, more effectively tied into the British imperial system than it had been before or was to be thereafter. Responsible government had removed the main grievances of colonialism. Nationalism had not yet really developed. The British tie meant liberty, and security as well against the still threatening United States. Steamships and telegraphs had cut down the barrier of distance from Britain, but transcontinentalism had not yet arisen to turn Canada's eyes inward and to the west. Central Canada was still a long, narrow settlement along the St. Lawrence system that pointed to Britain and channelled every impulse from the imperial centre deep into the Great Lakes country.

And so it was with ideas. They were channelled from Britain by steamship and telegraph, or carried with the immigrants, who so influenced their community that it kept looking to the centre of the British world for the source of its thought. This is not merely to be called dependence. Feeling a unity with Britain, English-speaking Canadians accepted the bulk of her ideas as their own. Their newspapers naturally did the same. The result was the dominance of mid-Victorian Liberalism, seen in the press that has been examined. In the period, therefore, when the modern Canadian nation was being founded, English-speaking opinion in Central Canada was tending away from the exciting extremes of both radicalism and toryism towards a moderate, and no doubt stodgy, cast of mind. Have we lost all our Victorian Liberalism yet?

There is another note to be added. The transfer of British ideas observed in the case of these newspapers suggests an hy-

<sup>43</sup>*Globe*, Nov. 23, 1861.

pothesis for broader use in the study of Canadian history. Such an hypothesis was elaborated some years ago for United States history by Dixon Ryan Fox.<sup>44</sup> He urged against the frontier thesis, which held that civilization was largely shaped in America by the influence of the West, that the major process in the development of the United States was the progressive transfer of European civilization across the Atlantic and from east to west. This concept of the "transit of civilization" is one of a number of qualifications which have been made to the frontier or native North American interpretation in United States history. One might suggest that the traditional time-lag has been operating long enough in Canadian history-writing. The North American view or stress in our history similarly needs qualifying now by a regard for the transit of civilization. This, in the case of English-speaking Canada, means largely a regard for the influence of transferred British ideas and institutions on our part of the North American scene.

If the history of Canada and the United States may be read broadly as an interaction of the American environment and imported cultures, then surely the transfer of ideas, even if a minor theme, is still more important for English-speaking Canada than for the United States. For we came into the environment later, kept our colonial ties longer; in fact, today we are largely marked off from Americans because we did so. That being the case, we largely exist as Canadians and have a separate identity because of the greater continuing influence which the transfer of ideas has exercised upon us. To such grand suppositions a paper on a few journals during a few short years may lead, though it can only suggest the hypothesis, not prove it.

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<sup>44</sup>See D. R. Fox, *Ideas in Motion* (New York, 1935), and D. R. Fox (ed.), *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* (New York, 1934), especially his introduction.

## LITERARY TASTE IN CENTRAL CANADA DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY\*

IT would be possible, no doubt, to undertake the study of Canadian literary taste by analysing what we might call the primary literature—the published works of those writers whom we dignify in our handbooks as poets, novelists, essayists, dramatists. Many of our early nineteenth-century poets, for instance—I am thinking particularly of Sangster, McLachlan, and Mair—leave on their work the heavy imprint of their reading, so that a volume of their poetry resembles an anthology of Romantic and Victorian verse compiled by an editor who has relied for his texts on the promptings of an energetic but erratic memory. During the late nineteenth century, however, the poets do not yield up their secrets so casually. Most of these later poets have assimilated their sources more thoroughly and a few of them have developed an individual style. Still, even with one of the better poets, Charles G. D. Roberts, it is easy enough to trace in his work the almost immediate reflection of current taste; as one moves through his series of published volumes, one can hear in orderly chronological succession the voices of Keats, Tennyson, Browning, Oscar Wilde, William Sharpe, W. E. Henley, W. B. Yeats, and others. But this method of determining literary taste is, at best, uncertain. Even if we were willing to risk the spiritual enervation that overcomes critics unduly concerned with influences, we would find, in adopting this method, that we had thereby cut ourselves off from many currents of taste that do not find their way directly into the creative literature of the time. At the opposite extreme, we could look for our evidence among readers who have no deep concern for literature, but who have been moved to express in newspapers, in letters, and in journals the unreflecting convictions of the heart. Even if this were feasible, it would have only a mild sociological significance. The student of literary taste must, it seems to me, take up his position on middle ground. He must search out the direct comment made by writers who have either a professional or a personal interest in literature and who are addressing themselves to an audience that clearly shares their interest. He will find such comment most clearly, therefore, in periodicals that have an obvious

\*This is the second of three papers, printed in this issue, which were presented at the Regional Conference, Humanities Research Council of Canada, Kingston, June 10, 1950, in a symposium on the cultural and intellectual development of Central Canada in the nineteenth century.



literary bias. Admittedly we are here dealing with a coterie; but I think we may take it for granted that the very existence of a colonial or Dominion literature depends upon the activities of a coterie. The most fruitful period in the literature of Central Canada for a study conducted on this basis is the seventies and eighties. For the first time there was a vitality and density to literary life that can make the study of taste something more than an arid documentation of the banal.

I do not want to suggest, however, that, with the eighties, there was in Central Canada a sudden, spontaneous generation of literary life. Indeed, the first considerable attempt in Central Canada to maintain a periodical devoted primarily to the cultivation of literature, *The Literary Garland* published in Montreal, enjoyed a longer life span than most of its successors. For thirteen years, from 1838 to 1851, the *Literary Garland* miraculously remained alive and managed, according to the testimony of Mrs. Moodie, perhaps its most distinguished contributor, to pay rather well.<sup>1</sup>

Curiously enough, this production of a raw and sparsely populated colony was aggressively *belle-lettre* in tone and liked to think of itself as a soothing antidote to the recent political troubles that had culminated in rebellion. Like the poetry of the time, there was something forced and precociously imitative about the *Literary Garland*, as if its editor and his associates felt that they were reproducing some of the elegance and grace of the parent literature. Between 1851 and 1870 a number of periodicals made brief, apologetic appearances and then speedily and quietly withdrew. With the seventies, however, the periodical emerged as one of the dominant expressions of the time.

The usual reason assigned for this reawakening of cultural life, of which the flourishing of the periodical constitutes only one symptom, was the achievement of Confederation and the accompanying growth in Central Canada, at least, of a national consciousness and pride. We must, however, be careful not to establish a simple causal relationship. Confederation was not so much a solution as a posing of the national problem. To many observers, the factional manoeuvring that had preceded Confederation and

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Moodie recounts how early efforts to earn money by writing for American periodicals had been frustrated by her inability to pay the postage on manuscripts. When she explained this situation to the editor of the *Literary Garland*, "in the most liberal manner, he offered to pay the postage on all manuscripts to his office, and left me to name my own terms of remuneration" (*Roughing It in the Bush*, New York, n.d., 476). It is obvious that during their stay in the bush, the Moodie family was supported almost entirely by Mrs. Moodie's literary labours.



the grave problems that immediately followed it made it apparent that national unity had to be founded on something more stable than the niceties of political compromise. Was it not possible, they asked, to sink political divergence in a disinterested concern for the cultural life of the new nation? This was the query that the Canada First movement addressed to the nation during the seventies. In his "Address to the Canadian National Association" (1875), William Foster, the prophet of Canada First, quoted with approval the following analysis of the origin and nature of the movement: "That movement was at the outset an intellectual movement. It was the revolt of educated and thoughtful men against the inanity, and worse than inanity, of what was offered to them as political discussion. It was a direct product, in some measure, of that higher culture which the universities and colleges of our land are steadily promoting."<sup>2</sup> Almost all of those who could be described as members of the movement were, in the broad sense of the term, men of letters, more adept in the arts of propaganda than in the skills of political warfare. It had from the outset the embarrassingly powerful endorsement of Goldwin Smith, who had just taken up residence in Toronto. It had in Charles Mair its official poet, described by Foster with a pardonable touch of exaggeration as "The Canadian Keats." And Robert Grant Haliburton gave the movement the prestige of a great literary name and the service of a ringing, rhetorical style. Politically, of course, the Canada First movement was only a minor incident; its members moved off rapidly in a number of directions—towards Imperial Federation, towards national independence, and even towards annexation. But culturally, I am convinced, the movement had wide and deep implications. It was the outward and visible sign of a widespread conviction that Canadian intellectual life was not necessarily circumscribed by "responsible government," "rep. by pop.," and the thin ideological conflict between Grits and Tories. Writers who gave expression to this conviction were not contemptuous of politics and history. But they were constantly seeking to transcend party controversy, in the words of one of their most distinguished mentors, to turn "a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits."

The leaders of this modest cultural renaissance found a means of giving currency to their ideas in a group of periodicals that flourished most vigorously in the seventies and eighties. Two of these periodicals were primarily political in character: *The Nation*

<sup>2</sup>*Canada First, a Memorial of the Late William A. Foster, Q.C.* (Toronto, 1890), 77.

(1874-6), which was the official organ of Canada First, and *The Bystander* (1880-2; 1890-1), which was little more than a political broadsheet, albeit a brilliant one, inspired and largely written by Goldwin Smith. Two of them, however, were conceived in broader terms: *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* (1872-82) and *The Week* (1883-96). Each was, to use the subtitle of the *Week*, "a Canadian Journal of Politics, Society, and Literature." And each betrayed signs of Canada First parentage, although only the *Canadian Monthly* could be described as a legitimate offspring. An editorial pronouncement in the first number of the *Canadian Monthly* sounded a note of vibrant patriotism and referred confidently to "the general awakening of national life."<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of its span, however, as economic difficulties crowded in, the mood changed and the *Canadian Monthly* ended with a bitter and despairing valedictory. But the defunct monthly had accomplished much. Most important, it had gathered together a group of practised writers, who were to transfer their allegiance en bloc to the *Week*.

At the centre of this group was, of course, Goldwin Smith. About Goldwin Smith, political commentator and political prophet, there is room for the liveliest divergence of opinion; about Goldwin Smith, intellectual and man of letters, there can be only one considered judgment. He was a quickening force in the intellectual life of Canada. By a chain of circumstances that still resists logical analysis, the brilliant young writer for the *Saturday Review*, the one time Regius Professor of History at Oxford, the friend and intimate of the Victorian great, came to Toronto, and for some forty years devoted himself to "The Canadian question." To have in their midst a man who by training, natural endowments, and the pleasant fruits of a judicious marriage could lead uninterruptedly the life of a Victorian man of letters was in itself a stimulus to local writers. But in addition Goldwin Smith gave his literary services and his financial support to a long series of periodicals and newspapers, and he attracted to himself and set his imprint upon a group of serious journalists. Two of the best of these, Graeme Mercer Adam and Theodore Arnold Haultain, were both employed at various times by Goldwin Smith in the capacity of literary assistant. In the launching of the *Canadian Monthly* and the *Week*, Goldwin Smith played a prominent role. Although he was a dominating voice in the columns of the *Week* only during the first few years of its publication, it is clear that his outlook and his

<sup>3</sup>I (Jan., 1872), 1.

critical standards left a permanent impress. The *Week* proclaimed the following policy: an insistence upon independence in politics and on the right and indeed the duty to criticize freely; a concern with the national scene but, at the same time, a due regard for what was happening in the United States and in Europe. The *Week* liked to think that both in conception and by achievement it could take its place beside the great literary periodicals of the day. This was, at least, not a fantastic contention. For our purpose, it will be sufficient to argue more modestly that the *Week* was for its time the least tarnished mirror of Central Canadian culture and as such gave the clearest reflection of current literary taste.

The *Week* was published in Toronto and certainly did not take issue with those correspondents who asserted that Toronto was the intellectual centre of the Dominion. But local and even provincial matters did not bulk large in its columns. For a brief period after its inception it was edited by the promising young poet from the Maritimes, Charles G. D. Roberts. Although Roberts speedily discovered that his Canadian accent had not been formed in the school of Goldwin Smith and severed his official connection with the *Week*, he continued to be a contributor. Its major writers were drawn from all parts of Central Canada. Montreal contributed John Reade, poet, essayist, and literary critic of the *Montreal Gazette*, and William Douw Lighthall, patron of letters, writer, and anthologist. Ottawa was well represented by John Henry Brown and William Dawson LeSueur, both, like Lampman, employed in the federal Post Office Department, and both vigorous advocates of advanced ideas in religion and politics. Kingston and eastern Ontario sent a feminine contingent: Agnes Maude Machar, who under the pen name of "Fidelis" wrote novels, poetry, and literary criticism; and Louisa Murray, a veteran romancer and a self-made bluestocking. From the western Ontario town of Brantford came Sara Jeannette Duncan, the liveliest and most urbane writer in the *Week*. In spite of the wide dispersion of its contributors throughout Central Canada, the general literary tone was remarkably uniform. The main reason for this was that the central corps of writers were born in the United Kingdom and received their education there; it is only natural to assume that they owed to their early training many of the qualities that they displayed when they entered upon the Canadian literary scene. Goldwin Smith was, of course, a product of Eton and Oxford; Adam was educated in Edinburgh; Reade was born in Ireland and educated at Queen's College, Belfast. Yet, in journalism and literature, as in academic

life, there were signs that the native product was not wholly without flavour. LeSueur and Haultain were both graduates of the University of Toronto, and Sara Jeannette Duncan did not find the Toronto Normal School a barrier to the literary life.

On the whole, I would suggest that the *Week* is a better source for material illustrative of cultivated literary taste than most of the Canadian periodicals that have appeared since it ceased publication. In its pages one finds a synthesis of the academic and the literary that has since broken down with the split between the learned journal and the little magazine, on the one hand, and the general magazine designed for careless reading, on the other. It is admittedly the vehicle of the intellectuals and the high-brows, but it is not the effusion of a coterie nor the unbending spokesman of the learned.

True to its non-partisan ideals, the *Week* accepted contributions from writers who represented a conflicting variety of tastes. Still, one can pick out trends and emphases, and it is to this task, admittedly a hazardous one, that I should now like to turn.

We may safely begin with an estimate of the range and timeliness of the literary comment. The *Week's* proclaimed devotion to the principle of cosmopolitanism was not an empty gesture. Although the space given to Canadian literature gradually increased with the publication during the eighties of major volumes by Cameron, Lampman, Carman, Roberts, Campbell, and a great cloud of minor songsters, the *Week* never permitted patriotic zeal to mar its perspective. The emphasis rested where it belonged on the literature of older and more culturally mature countries. Outside of England and the United States, France received the greatest attention. An attempt was made to keep an orderly check on contemporary French books, if only to draw comforting conclusions about the superior morality of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The novels of Tolstoi, then appearing in English translation, were made the subject of long and generally laudatory reviews; to be called "The Russian George Eliot" was certainly not at that time to be damned with faint praise.<sup>4</sup> Between the literatures of the two great English-speaking countries, it would be difficult to say where the heavier emphasis lay. Certainly reviewers attached the greater prestige to English names; but it is, I think, increasingly apparent that general reading habits were being shaped by the more im-

<sup>4</sup>See "Notes from the Continent," II (Oct. 15, 1885), 727 and "The Review of *Anna Karenina*," III (April 22, 1886), 338.

mediate influences from across the border. Sara Jeannette Duncan pointed out that if a comparison were made "of the number of English and American contemporary writers familiar to the present generation, the latter would be found to preponderate in almost anybody's experience." She went on to observe that "any bookseller in the city will tell us that for one reader of Blackmore or Meredith he finds ten of Howells and James."<sup>5</sup> The American centres to which the commentators in the *Week* turned for literary news were, of course, Boston and New York. Boston was still the city of the great names, of Holmes and Lowell, and their younger and more active contemporaries, Aldrich and Howells. But the shift to New York was duly reflected in the *Week*. The Canadian periodical manifested a discreet interest, both through its reviews and comments and through its selections from contemporary American fiction and poetry, in the typical work of New York writers, particularly in light society verse and in novels that aspired to be bright and sophisticated.

In turning over the pages of the *Week*, one is not oppressed by the consciousness of a time-lag, to use a phrase much favoured by our literary diagnosticians. If anything, the *Week* was too quick to catch on to the popular fashions. This anxiety to keep abreast of the times often led to a flurry of excited critical comment that had to be revised later when more sober judgments prevailed. Its columns were filled with the praise of authors who now rarely creep out of footnotes and bibliographies into the text of even the most comprehensive literary histories—Americans such as Julian Hawthorne, Edgar Fawcett, F. Marion Crawford, and "Charles Egbert Craddock"; English writers such as Sir Francis Hastings Charles Doyle, William Black, and Sir Edwin Arnold. Yet, one is struck less by this understandable deference to fashionable taste than by the frequency with which writers who have safely survived the critical scrutiny of half a century were singled out for praise. It is well to remember that the task of the literary critic during the last three decades of the nineteenth century was a particularly difficult one. Most of the old Victorian masters had departed and the stage was now crowded with a multitude of clever aspirants for their roles.

The questions I have just discussed—the range of comment, the relative weight given to the literatures of other countries, the response to fashionable taste—all rest on factual data that can be fairly easily established. A more difficult task lies ahead. Is there

<sup>5</sup>"American Influence on Canadian Thought," IV (June 7, 1887), 518.

apparent in this mass of wide-ranging comment a clear pattern of taste? And if there is, what are some of the dominant ideas, principles, assumptions upon which it rests?

Fortunately the search for ideas in the *Week* is not a difficult process that demands a willingness on the part of the reader to draw generous deductions from inhospitable material. Indeed its tone was intellectual and aggressively controversial—a characteristic that appeared no less markedly in its predecessor, the *Canadian Monthly*. The great question to which almost every issue of the *Week* made some contribution was this: how was it possible to bring about a reconciliation between a world view that was shaped by orthodox Christian theology and that alone, it was thought, could give authoritative sanction to a strong morality, and a world view that incorporated the findings of science and that seemed to many to threaten the very basis of morality? This, of course, was the peculiar problem that exercised the minds of the earnest Victorians. Here, it might be said, is some evidence of a time-lag, for in contemporary England the centre of emphasis was beginning to shift noticeably from religious to social and economic controversy. Certainly this shift was not so clearly apparent in Canada; but it should be pointed out that the *Week* was by no means indifferent to changes in economic and social thought, although its awareness usually took the form of petulant outbursts against the fantastic theories of a Henry George or a William Morris.

In the religious and ethical conflict the *Week* consistently strove to establish a compromise that would retain the spirit of the old and at the same time incorporate the truths of the new. Although it emphatically rejected a boldly naturalistic interpretation, it believed in the necessity for the gradual assimilation of the findings of science and of the higher criticism. A writer like LeSueur, a devoted disciple of positivism who sought to replace Christian theism with the religion of humanity, was a valued contributor to the *Week*. Editorial discretion demanded only that from time to time he be gently admonished for his vivacities. What the *Week* admired in critics like LeSueur was their deep seriousness, their insistence that they were not so much rejecting the ethics of Christianity as giving it a new philosophical basis. "The scepticism which now prevails," said the *Week* editorially, "is not that light and sensual scepticism, the nature and source of which are betrayed in Voltaire and Diderot by its union with the vilest obscenities. . . . In these men it does not prevent the character from remaining reverent, and even in a certain sense religious; especially when they



invest scientific law with such attributes as to make it practically another name for God."<sup>6</sup>

In the light of this attitude towards the central issue of the age, it is clear why two of the authors who dominated the cultivated taste of the late nineteenth century were George Eliot and Matthew Arnold. In the novels of George Eliot and the poetry and prose of Matthew Arnold the *Week* found the spirit of serious scepticism and reverent innovation that it so much admired. The deification of George Eliot had already taken place in the *Canadian Monthly*, which was appearing during the last ten triumphant years of her life. Her death occurred shortly before the *Week* began publication, and the comments on her novels in that periodical had some of the sobriety of retrospective judgment.<sup>7</sup> But Matthew Arnold was for the *Week* not only a contemporary man of letters; he was in himself a public question in the same category with Imperial Federation, Irish Home Rule, and the Scott Act. Tennyson and Gladstone might be real and imposing figures against an English backdrop, but Matthew Arnold had actually been seen and heard during the winter of 1884 in Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec. In the *Week* Arnold was treated always with respect, usually with deference.<sup>8</sup>

Although Arnold was a respected figure in the *Week*, it is clear that his message was only partially understood. His Canadian disciples emphasized strongly the hebraic side of his teaching, and largely ignored the hellenic. He was hailed for his "earnest aspirations and large humanity,"<sup>9</sup> and for his skill as a literary critic in bringing poets "to the tests of truth and righteousness."<sup>10</sup> The only contributor to the *Week* who clearly caught the spirit of Arnold's attack on the middle class was Sara Jeannette Duncan.

<sup>6</sup>III (Nov. 11, 1886), 800.

<sup>7</sup>The appearance of Cross's *Life and Letters* inspired reviews on the general significance of George Eliot's contributions to literature and thought. She was praised less as an artist and more as a great "preceptress of agnosticism teaching through character-lessons, and at the same time, perhaps, as a herald of the transition from a literary to a scientific era" ("Topics of the Week," II (April 9, 1885), 292).

<sup>8</sup>Arnold has not left any extended record of his impressions of English-speaking Canadian society. But the following passage indicates clearly that he thought of that society as possessing all the shortcomings that he attributed to the English middle classes: "You know the conversation which reigns in thousands of middle-class families at this hour, about nunneries, teetotalism, the confessional, eternal punishment, ritualism, disestablishment. It goes wherever the class goes which is moulded on the Puritan type of life. In the long winter evenings of Toronto Mr. Goldwin Smith has had, probably, abundant experience of it." ("Equality" in *Mixed Essays* (London, 1904), 80.) The essay was written before Arnold visited Canada, but I suspect that he was never tempted to revise this passage in the light of his Canadian experience.

<sup>9</sup>G. M. Adam, "Matthew Arnold," *Week*, V (April 26, 1888), 347.

<sup>10</sup>"Review of *Essays in Criticism, Second Series*," *Week*, VI (Dec. 7, 1888), 12.

To her the province of Ontario was "one great camp of the Philistines," whose intellectual diet was made up of "politics and vituperation, temperance and vituperation, religion and vituperation."<sup>11</sup>

The same conflict between the old and the new reflected in the comments on the literature of thought appeared also in the comments on the literature of imagination. The *genre* about which writers showed the sharpest awareness of the nature of basic principles was, curiously enough, the novel—the *genre* in which the native effort was weakest, both quantitatively and qualitatively. In briefest terms, the conflict in this area was between those who espoused the traditional novel of complicated plot stiffened by abundant passages of generalized description and of a wholesome morality—what its devotees liked to describe as "the romantic and imaginative novel"—and those who defended the novel that scorned the machinery of plot, strove for a calm objectivity, substituted close analysis of character and motives for elaborate background descriptions, and aimed to trouble the mind rather than to strengthen the moral fibre. The former novel was associated with a settled society, conservative and aristocratic in its social theory, orthodox and absolutist in its religious and ethical teaching; its characteristic writers were Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, and even George Eliot. The latter novel was associated with an unsettled society that made a gospel of democracy and with scientific experimentalism that was concerned only with uncovering the data of experience; its practitioners fall into two categories—the French naturalists presided over by Zola, and the American realists of whom Howells and James were the leaders. Even the most liberal writer in the *Week* found it impossible to admit the French naturalists into the republic of letters. For James and Howells, however, there was courteous acceptance and, occasionally, spirited support.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>"Saunterings," *Week*, III (Sept. 30, 1886), 707.

<sup>12</sup>The two most vigorous upholders of "the romantic and imaginative novel" were G. M. Adam and Louisa Murray. In a review, "Some Books of the Last Year," Adam referred to "the intellectual vivisection methods of the American schools of James and Howells, or, worse still, the loathsome realism and putridity of the school of Zola and France" (II (Jan. 15, 1885), 103). Louisa Murray in an article "Democracy in Literature" argued that the cult of democracy led in the novel to an emphasis on "the prosaic details of commonplace life, with every vestige of poetry carefully eliminated," and to a dreary pessimism. She concluded that "all books are mean that do not make us think nobly of human nature and the heights to which it may attain." (VI (Aug. 2, 1889), 550.) In a lively essay entitled "Outworn Literary Methods," Sara Jeannette Duncan vigorously defended the new novel. "The novel of today," she explained, "may be written to show the culminative action of a passion, to work out an ethical problem of everyday occurrence, to give body and form to a sensation of the finest or of the coarsest



The lines between the "romanticists" and the "realists" were sharply drawn. Where common ground could be found, however, was in the generally enthusiastic attitude towards American local colour novelists. George W. Cable and Sarah Orne Jewett were two early favourites. But Mary N. Murfree, who wrote about the Tennessee mountain region under the unpleasant pen name of "Charles Egbert Craddock," received the greatest attention. The local colour novel seems to have been the form in which the current interest in realism was most palatable to the Canadian reader. This novel demanded close observation of regional types, but observation tempered by "a sunny gleam of humour" and "a general sympathy."<sup>13</sup> Above all, it demanded elaborate natural description in which details were walled about by generalization and edifying comment. All these characteristics produced what one critic aptly called "picturesque realism."<sup>14</sup>

When we turn to the comment on poetry, we find a disturbing absence of critical principles. The general position, however, is abundantly clear: writers in the *Week* were opposed, sometimes belligerently, to poetry that was experimental either in technique or in subject-matter. Even Browning, although he was spoken of with the respect befitting one of the eminent Victorians, was not looked upon as an authentic poetic voice. Agnes E. Wetherald, one of the more sprightly literary autocrats of the time, wittily expressed the common dislike for Browning's obscurity: " 'What is not clear,' says Voltaire, 'is not French.' Apparently Browning thinks it is English. . . ."<sup>15</sup> When in 1889 the newly appointed professor of English at the University of Toronto, W. J. Alexander, published his *Introduction to the Poetry of Robert Browning*, he may very well have looked upon it as an epistle to the Philistines. If Browning earned a grudging respect, Walt Whitman, American's most notable literary eccentric, was usually linked with Zola as beneath serious critical consideration. Whitman's offence was a double one: he expressed himself in a form that "so far from being poetry . . . is not even verse," and he was guilty in his general outlook of a "rampant bestiality."<sup>16</sup> In all fairness, one should

kind, for almost any reason which can be shown to have a connection with the course of human life, and the development of human character." (IV (June 9, 1887), 45.) Miss Duncan was thinking primarily of the novels of James and Howells. For an example of intelligent comment on James, see the review of *The Princess Cassamassima* (IV (March 3, 1887), 223-4).

<sup>13</sup>"Charles Egbert Craddock," *Week*, III (Oct. 26, 1886), 767.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>"One Vice of the Poets," *Week*, III (May 27, 1886), 414.

<sup>16</sup>These phrases are from a review in the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* (I (March, 1872), 279), but they might very well have come from the *Week*.

add that there were dissenting voices. The *Week* for May 16, 1890 had on one page a statement that Whitman "is not even original in these days, nor improper—simply dull,"<sup>17</sup> and on the next page printed a sonnet by J. H. Brown, always a spokesman of the enlightenment, in which Whitman was apostrophized as "great democrat, great poet, and great man."

It is clear then what in poetry the Canadian literary world mainly disliked: technical experimentation, the intellectual, any suggestion of the commonplace and the realistic. The positive ideal is more difficult to establish, but its general characteristics may be suggested. Its animating conceptions as they emerge by implication in the *Week* were elegance of diction, nobility of sentiment, and clarity and picturesqueness of observation. The good poem embodies either a clear picture or a general sentiment expressed in measured verse and in unambiguous language. The poets who received consistent praise—Austin Dobson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich—were all exponents of these ideals of Victorian neo-classicism.

So far this analysis of Canadian literary taste has been based entirely on comment and criticism of non-Canadian writers. I have done this not merely because the literatures of other countries offered a richer field for the exercise of literary judgment, but because taste in the native literature was deficient even in those modest powers of discrimination that I have been trying to describe. Canadian critics were not unaware of the problems posed by the noxious mixture of colonialism and nationalism and they could, at times, be attractively ruthless when writing about native poets and novelists.<sup>18</sup> But, on the whole, it would be at best only a

<sup>17</sup>VII, 375. The most discerning critique of Whitman published in the *Week* was that by Charles G. D. Roberts in his "Notes on Some of the Younger Poets" (I (April 24, 1884), 328).

<sup>18</sup>The early issues of the *Week* contained a number of articles analysing the plight of Canadian literature and calling for a tough, uncompromising criticism. The ultimate note in cynical despair was struck by J. E. Collins when he observed that "the fiction and *belles-lettres*, generally, have the limits of the municipality and the flavour of the log-hut" ("English-Canadian Literature," I (Aug. 28, 1884), 614). In the next issue "Barry Dane" (John E. Logan) warned against the dangers of a "flattering and fulsome praise" and declared that many of the reviews of Canadian books were as "reliable as patent medicine advertisements, and probably as fostering to good literature" ("National Literature," I (Sept. 4, 1884), 633). Occasionally, Canadian criticism was equal to its task and did not scorn the tools of analysis. A long review of John Hunter-Duvar's *De Roberval, a Drama* struck this opening note: "The opening is weak, the growth tedious, the climax doubtful, the fall is unproportioned, and the close is only redeemed from bathos by a chorus" (VI (Feb. 15, 1889), 170). Unfortunately such remarks are as rare as they are refreshing. W. D. Lighthall, writing in the *Week* just at the time when his much-praised anthology, *Songs of the Great Dominion*, was appearing (1889), selected for especial commendation a passage from a poem on Laura Secord by a certain Mrs. Curzon, the first lines of which are as follows:

well-intentioned distortion if I were to suggest that criticism of Canadian writing showed powers of careful selection and rejection and that a distinct preference was shown for, say, the nature poetry of Lampman as against the rhymed jingles of any number of versifiers now mercifully forgotten.<sup>19</sup>

I do not want to give the impression that the not unrespectable standards of taste that determined the reception of European, English, and American literatures ceased to operate in the field of Canadian literature and that they bear witness merely to the existence of a surface cosmopolitanism. Where they reappeared, indirectly but none the less powerfully, was in the best creative literature of the day, in the poetry of Lampman, Cameron, Scott, and Campbell—all poets who lived and worked in Central Canada; and, to a lesser extent, in the poetry of Roberts and Carman—poets who were subjected to more diverse influences and could draw from another and more distinctive regional culture. The poetry of Lampman, to take one of this group, is the poetry of a man who expresses the serious tastes of his cultural environment. The demonstration of such a thesis belongs to a separate study to which this analysis of taste is, in a sense, a prologue. At the conclusion of this paper, I can suggest only the broad outlines of the argument.

Archibald Lampman belonged to the family compact of intellectuals and men of letters that, as we have seen, grew up in Central Canada during the later part of the nineteenth century. It was far more benevolent and, unfortunately, far less powerful than the more famous compact that moves ambiguously through the history of Upper Canada, and it did not exact from its numbers the same rigid qualifications. Lampman's career, however, gives

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"I stood on Queenston Heights;  
And as I gazed from tomb to cenotaph,  
From cenotaph to tomb, adown and up,  
My heart grew full, much moved with many thoughts."

<sup>19</sup>For a few years after the publication of *Among the Millet* (1888) Lampman was given special attention in the *Week*, and there is some reason for concluding that he was more highly esteemed than his contemporaries. *Among the Millet* was given two long reviews, laudatory but not uncritical, each by one of the leading *littérateurs* of the day: "Seranus" (Mrs. J. F. Harrison) in VI (Dec. 28, 1888), 59, and "Fidelis" (Miss A. M. Machar) in VI (March 22, 1889), 251-2. *Among the Millet* inspired two poetic tributes, one by D. C. Scott, "Written in a Copy of Archibald Lampman's Poems" (VI (Oct. 4, 1889), 689), and one by C. M. Holmes, "*Among the Millet*—by Lampman" (VIII (April 10, 1891), 298). The highest tribute to be paid Lampman in the *Week* was his inclusion in the series "Prominent Canadians," a series given over for the most part to the great in politics, law, and finance. The writer of the sketch, Lilly F. Barry, obviously feels that Lampman is the great Canadian poet. "His success," she writes, "is a matter of national importance" (VIII (April 10, 1891), 298-300). From this time on, however, Lampman was a less prominent figure in the *Week* both as contributor and as the subject for the literary essay.

us a pattern of the normal development. It is founded on a family tradition that stresses devotion to things British, to the Church, and to classical literature. It is subsequently toughened by exposure to the world of politics and education, and by immersion in journalism. Lampman, for instance, came from a clerical home, took his university degree in classics, and had a brief, unhappy experience as a teacher. After 1882, when he entered the Post Office Department at Ottawa, he was a horrified observer of the political scene, and from the time of his student days he was an active part-time journalist aspiring to be a full-time man of letters. All of his close friends were journalists and writers, most of them associated at some time with the *Week*—J. E. Collins, E. W. Thomson, W. D. LeSueur, J. H. Brown, Duncan Campbell Scott, and Wilfred Campbell. Many of his early poems appeared in the *Week*; he himself wrote critical articles for that periodical,<sup>20</sup> and for a little over a year beginning in February, 1892, he conducted in the *Globe* (Toronto), in association with Campbell and Scott, a literary column known as "At the Mermaid Inn."

What then is abundantly evident is that Lampman was no pale recluse but an active participator and an acknowledged leader in the intellectual and cultural life of Central Canada. In his poetry, it seems to me, you will find the concrete embodiment of the standards of taste that animate critical comment in the *Week*. It is poetry of "picturesque realism," at its best in natural description where a large, general effect is fused with sharply observed detail. Less successfully, it is poetry of thought and sentiment that may, at times, recall the sermons of a liberal-minded clergyman with a dignified presence and a monotonous voice, but never, as does so much of the thoughtful verse of his Canadian contemporaries, the high-school commencement address or the recitation at the "box social." And in his final volume, *Alcyone*, it is poetry that voices the religious doubts and yearnings of the age with a subdued melancholy and a stoic calm that echoes "the eternal note of sadness" of the great English contemporary who was his declared

<sup>20</sup>Lampman did not write much prose for the *Week*. He was, however, an occasional reviewer. (See a review of *Lyrical Translations* by Charles J. Parkin in V (Dec. 8, 1887), 22, and a review of *Old Man Savarin, and Other Stories* by his friend E. W. Thomson in XII (Aug. 9, 1895), 880-1.) The bulk of his prose work is to be found in "At the Mermaid Inn," where, incidentally, he singled out the *Week* as the one contemporary Canadian periodical in which he had confidence. (See the *Globe*, Oct. 1, 1892.) The most extended piece of critical prose written by Lampman is the lecture, "Two Canadian Poets," reprinted in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XIII (July, 1944), 406-23.

master.<sup>21</sup> In the poetry of Lampman the cultivated taste of the age finds its most eloquent apology.

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<sup>21</sup>At first Lampman was under the spell of Keats. "Keats has always," he wrote, "had such a fascination for me and has so permeated my whole mental outlet, that I have an idea that he has found a sort of faint reincarnation in me." (Quoted by Duncan Campbell Scott in the Introduction to Lampman's *Lyrics of Earth*, Toronto, 1925, 32.) But Matthew Arnold was always a favourite and he gradually rose to the top of Lampman's hierarchy of poets. After hearing Arnold in Ottawa in the winter of 1884, he wrote to his friend J. A. Ritchie: "I went to hear Matthew Arnold and was filled with an abiding sense of reverence and affection for that splendid old fellow, who looks and acts and speaks as nobly as he writes." (Quoted by Carl Y. Connor in *Archibald Lampman, Canadian Poet of Nature*, Montreal, 1929, 76.) His fullest estimate of Arnold concludes as follows: "He who has been reading Browning till his head spins with the multitude of subtleties and splendid tours de force, or he who is ever weary, if such a thing may be, of the rounded perfections of Tennyson, betakes himself to Matthew Arnold, and then he seems to have reached the hills. With a mind blown clear as by the free wind of heaven he surveys the extent of life. He passes through an atmosphere where only the noblest emotions, life, beauty and thought possess him. He becomes gentle and majestic as the mind of the master who commands him. I believe that the time will come when Matthew Arnold will be accounted the greatest poet of his generation, and one of the three or four noblest that England has produced." (Quoted by Duncan Campbell Scott, *Lyrics of Earth*, 34-5.)

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY IN CENTRAL CANADA FROM 1850 TO 1900\*

DURING the last thirty years a considerable number of books and articles have been devoted to the rise of literature and the natural and social sciences in Canada. But no one has hitherto published a study, either historical or critical, of the development of modern philosophy in this country. The preliminary investigator in a new field of inquiry is necessarily confronted with unusual methodological problems. What should be included in the first exposition and interpretation of the development of philosophy in Canada? In the present paper elaborate comparative and socio-cultural analyses have, on the whole, been subordinated to a plain, historical method. The latter, it is hoped, will provide a foundation for the more critical studies which others may be encouraged to undertake in future.

In Central Canada, unlike Britain and the United States, philosophy has flourished only in the universities; our survey will, accordingly, be limited to the activities of men who were engaged in university teaching.<sup>1</sup> Such an approach, though restricted, is of the highest importance for a fuller understanding of Canada's cultural and intellectual history. The philosophy that was taught and written in the universities must have influenced, to a greater or less degree, the country's lawyers and legislators, its teachers and clergy, its journalists and essayists, its scientists and men of affairs.

\*This is the third of three papers, printed in this issue, which were presented at the Regional Conference, Humanities Research Council of Canada, Kingston, June 10, 1950, in a symposium on the cultural and intellectual development of Central Canada in the nineteenth century. The writer's grateful acknowledgments are due to Professors C. B. Sissons, D. G. Creighton, and Northrop Frye for stimulating discussions of Canadian history; and to Dr. W. Stewart Wallace, Miss Margaret V. Ray, Mr. H. Pearson Gundy, and Mr. T. H. Matthews for assistance in securing information and library materials. Special mention should be made of Mr. K. Z. Paltiel for collecting material on philosophy at McGill. The books, pamphlets, and articles of the early Canadian philosophers have become extremely rare: in certain instances only one copy is known to have survived. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to give quotations of some length from the rarest materials.

<sup>1</sup>Richard Maurice Bucke (1837-1902) and William Dawson Le Sueur (1840-1917) were influential thinkers and writers but it is doubtful if either of them could be considered a philosopher. For a reference to Le Sueur's literary positivism, see C. T. Bissell, "Literary Taste in Central Canada During the Late Nineteenth century" (*Canadian Historical Review*, Sept., 1950, 244). Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness* (1901) has been widely read in Canadian theosophical circles. Lawren Harris and J. E. H. MacDonald were strongly influenced by Bucke, as was also their friend Frederick B. Houser, author of the best book on the Group of Seven. It is not generally realized how much the abstractionism of Lawren Harris is a direct result of his prolonged studies in theosophy.

The first task of the Loyalists who fled from the American Revolution into the wild lands north of the Great Lakes, and of the masses of British immigrants who later joined them, was to subdue a harsh and recalcitrant environment to the needs of a settled existence. During the process of settlement, the native Indian cultures of the region were almost completely destroyed: they had no influence upon the development of Canadian philosophy. Considering the magnitude of the task with which the colonists were confronted, it is amazing that they should so soon have given so much thought to higher education. By the middle of the nineteenth century no less than eight universities had been founded: McGill (1821), Toronto (1827), Victoria (1836), Queen's (1841), Bishop's (1843), Ottawa (1849), Trinity (1850), St. Michael's (1852). Such remarkable educational activity on the Canadian frontier is all the more impressive when one remembers that in England and Wales there existed in 1850, apart from the ancient foundations, only the Universities of London and Durham, and a University College at Southampton.

The rapid development of universities in Canada during this period can be understood, in the widest sense, only as part of the greater movement of liberalism which arose toward the close of the eighteenth century, and which permeated every phase of thought and life in the Western world during the next hundred years. But in Canada the rivalry, if not the open hostility, of the various Christian denominations played a dominant role in the determination, not only of the structure of the new universities, but also, throughout the nineteenth century at least, of the type of men who were appointed to professorships of philosophy. To comprehend the development of Canadian philosophy it is necessary to know who these men were; whence they came; where they were educated; what they brought with them of traditions and loyalties; how they were influenced by, and what they preserved in, their Canadian environment; and, above all, what they contributed to the growth of our intellectual and cultural tradition.<sup>2</sup> We shall attempt to answer these questions with respect to the men who taught philosophy at the Universities of Toronto, Queen's, and McGill, during the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Cf. George W. Brown, "Canada in the Making" (*Report*, Canadian Historical Association, 1944, 12).

<sup>3</sup>These institutions have been selected for their representative character. Victoria, Trinity, and St. Michael's Colleges, as well as the University of Ottawa, have all had long and distinguished traditions in philosophy. McMaster and Western Ontario universities were established too late in the nineteenth century to fall within our period. It should be emphasized also that our treatment of the men is in terms of historical, and not only philosophical, importance. From the standpoint of purely philosophical importance the bulk of the paper would have to be devoted to John Watson.



At Harvard University the first official appointment specifically in philosophy was made as late as 1766, and the first Harvard professorship of philosophy dates only from 1810.<sup>4</sup> The distinction of being the first academic philosopher in Central Canada belongs to James Beaven. Exactly one hundred years ago, in 1850, he was appointed Professor of Metaphysics and Ethics in the newly reconstituted University of Toronto, a chair he held until his resignation in 1871, when he accepted the position of rector of the Church of England at Whitby, where he died in 1875.

James Beaven was born in 1801, the son of Samuel Beaven, of Westbury, Wiltshire. He was educated at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, where he obtained his B.A. in 1824, and his M.A. in 1827. On going down from Oxford, where he had devoted himself mainly to classics and theology, he took holy orders and spent fifteen years in clerical and educational activities. In 1841 he published, in London, *An Account of the Life and Writings of St. Irenaeus*, for which Oxford awarded him the degree of doctor of divinity. His book evidently attracted some attention, for the year following its publication saw his appointment as Professor of Divinity in King's College, Toronto, which, after fifteen years of precarious existence, now began actively to function. The original University Act of 1827 had stated that the professor of Divinity in King's College must be a clergyman of the Church of England, and this stipulation was unquestionably an important factor in determining Beaven's appointment in 1842. When the Act of 1849 reorganized King's College on non-sectarian lines, the chair of Divinity was necessarily abolished. But Beaven, although he had been bitterly opposed to the secularization of university education, and abominated to the end of his life the "godless" University of Toronto which succeeded King's College,<sup>5</sup> was appointed, much against his will, to the newly established philosophical chair.<sup>6</sup> (It is interesting to recall that shortly afterwards the applications of Thomas Henry Huxley for

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin Rand, "Philosophical Instruction in Harvard University from 1636 to 1906" (*Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXVII, 1928-9, 10, 14-15).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. [W. J. Alexander (ed.)], *The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906* (Toronto, 1906), 105. "Dr. Beaven's position in the new University having been adduced, in the public press, by the first Chancellor, the Hon. P. de Blaquiére, as a proof that it was not a godless institution, Dr. Beaven protested. 'I have,' he wrote to the Chancellor 'repeatedly in your presence and that of the Senate expressed my entire disapproval of the very principles upon which the University is founded, and . . . I think I have strong ground of complaint against you for using my name to sustain the character of an institution which I abominate.'"

<sup>6</sup>Cf. W. Stewart Wallace, *A History of the University of Toronto* (Toronto, 1927), 61. "The only reason why I now continue to hold office,' [Beaven] plaintively assured the Chancellor, 'is . . . that the government has not allowed me any adequate compensation on which to retire, and Providence has not opened for me any other sphere of action.'"



the chair of Natural History and of John Tyndall for the chair of Natural Philosophy were both declined.) During twenty-nine years of university teaching, Beaven was tireless in performing ecclesiastical duties for the Church of England. He was a canon of St. James Cathedral, and, from 1862 to 1873, precentor of the Synod of Toronto, a post for which his musical knowledge and skill eminently fitted him. He gave his services frequently and gratuitously to many struggling parishes in and around Toronto. One of his sons became a clergyman, a second served gallantly at Ridgeway, and a third, the Honourable Robert Beaven, achieved a place in our history as premier of British Columbia.<sup>7</sup>

Beaven brought with him to Canada the scholarship, the idiosyncrasies, and the prejudices of an Oxford man of the early nineteenth century. He was absolutely for the Church of England and absolutely against nonconformists, as the following anecdote, which has been preserved by one of his students, vividly attests:

A synod of the Church of England was in session, and thither went the Doctor in his gig. He overtook what seemed to be a brother parson from the country, and courteously offered him a lift. In subsequent conversation, it turned out that the cleric was a so-called dissenter, whose union or conference was also then meeting in the city. At once the vehicle drew up to the sidewalk, and came to a standstill; the apron was unbuttoned and the driver, pointing with the end of a decayed whip to the planks, icily remarked, as one who had a grievance, "I—ah—mistook you for a Churchman; will you please get down out of my—ah—carriage."<sup>8</sup>

In 1845, on the opening of a residence at King's College, Beaven was placed in charge as dean, and he immediately established regulations governing the conduct of students of the type with which he had been familiar at Oxford during his undergraduate days:

The College gate was to be closed at 10 p.m. in summer and 9.30 p.m. in winter; and any student entering the College gate after these hours was to be fined. Students were permitted to retain visitors in their rooms until midnight; but no student could leave the College after the gates were closed, save by written permission of the dean. Residence was intended to be compulsory, except in the case of students residing with parents or guardians in Toronto or the vicinity; but one gathers that this regulation was not enforced. Under these circumstances, a real collegiate life, of the English type, began to grow up.<sup>9</sup>

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to record that Dean Beaven conducted the residence at a loss of several hundred pounds annually, without apparently being aware of the fact. But, although not possessing

<sup>7</sup>Cf. John Campbell, "The Reverend Professor James Beaven" (*University of Toronto Monthly*, III, 1902, 72).

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 70-1.

<sup>9</sup>Wallace, *History of the University of Toronto*, 51.

great practical gifts, he was a man of studious and scholarly habits, and his detachment has become legendary: "Dr. Beaven," it is related, "who was a deep thinker, and rather deliberate in all his movements, and more or less absent-minded, I have passed . . . as he stood as still as a statue, apparently oblivious to the world and all his surroundings."<sup>10</sup>

Beaven's reputation as a teacher seems to have been prejudiced by his austere, even forbidding, personality. He was tall and angular, always clad in clerical attire, and a stickler for the wearing of cap and gown. His exterior was grave, his features severe and rigid, and his language expressive of little emotion. One of his students has left a fleeting picture of Beaven's appearance in the classroom:

At heart there was no professor more kind, considerate, and patient, none to whom, had I been in any sort of trouble, I would sooner have betaken myself. His heavenly patience in the lecture room, badgered with questions and delays innumerable, is still a wonderful phenomenon. The precision, stiffness, even harshness of his speech were the outcome of ultra conscientiousness and fidelity to truth as he understood it. Integrity was written in every line of his unbending form, and lineament of his countenance.<sup>11</sup>

One amusing story, among the many that are related of him, has actually survived in the oral tradition to the present day. On a certain occasion Beaven's students brought out of the Museum of Natural History a large ape, whose countenance was supposed to bear a ludicrous resemblance to the professor's features in repose, and set it in his chair in the lecture room, clothed in cap and gown. That he was not entirely lacking in a sense of humour is evident from his reply: "Gentlemen, if the expression be appropriate, I leave you with a teacher suited to your capacities."

Although the change from theology to philosophy must have been a severe trial for a man of fifty, Beaven applied himself tirelessly to his new field. Through his training at Oxford, he had already acquired, in addition to his proficiency in natural theology, an extensive knowledge of ancient philosophy; and in his younger days he had also made an intensive study of Bacon and Locke. He now proceeded to master and to teach the writings of the Scottish School, which were very much in vogue at that time, as well as the works of Descartes, Kant, Cousin, and Jouffroy. It is recorded that he sometimes dictated his lectures, giving analyses

<sup>10</sup>Wm. F. A. Boys, "Early Days of the University" (Supplement to the *University of Toronto Monthly*, Dec., 1901, 31).

<sup>11</sup>Campbell, "The Reverend Professor James Beaven," 72.

of such books as Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* which were models of conciseness. "His most enthusiastic panegyrist would not call him a brilliant lecturer; but he was laborious, painstaking, indefatigable, and, while his minutely dictated analyses of books helped many a mere memorizer to pass examinations and think himself a metaphysician, they were of great value to the true student."<sup>12</sup> In 1856 no less a person than the vice-chancellor of the University of Toronto himself, John Langton, wrote to his brother in England a devastating criticism of the conduct of University affairs. In this intimate and often hilarious letter, our philosopher, as compared with certain other professors, comes off fairly well. "We have a department of Metaphysics and Ethics under a most learned and excellent man Dr. Beaven. After the first two years we allow students to exercise options and they may under certain conditions drop Classics, but then they must retain Metaphysics, yet Dr. Beaven insists upon examining almost altogether from Aristotle, Cicero, etc., and positively requires them to read more Greek and Latin than Dr. McCaul himself."<sup>13</sup>

In addition to his book on St. Irenaeus, Beaven published, through Rivingtons of London, two other scholarly works, *Elements of Natural Theology*, in 1850, and an edition of Cicero's *De Finibus* in 1853. He also wrote a considerable number of religious manuals and catechisms for use in the Church of England, some of which were subsequently adapted for the Episcopal Church in the United States. Neither his scholarly nor his ecclesiastical writings would arouse much interest today, but the account of his travels from Toronto to Mackinac, in the summer of 1844, deserves to be preserved for the information it gives us, in an altogether delightful style, concerning frontier conditions in Upper Canada. Entitled *Recreations of a Long Vacation; or a Visit to Indian Missions in Upper Canada*, and not at all a philosophical work, it is probably the first book actually written in Central Canada by a philosopher.

Shortly after coming to Toronto, Beaven had made the acquaintance of the rector of Ancaster who had formerly been a missionary to the Chippeway (so he spells it) Indians at Sault Ste Marie. Through visits to this man he became interested in the condition of Anglican missions to the Indians and concluded that he could make a contribution to the work of his church by an unofficial "tour of inspection," which he accordingly undertook in August, 1844. Going by steamer to Hamilton, he proceeded thence

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>13</sup>John Langton, "Notes and Documents" (*Canadian Historical Review*, V, 1924, 141).

by stage coach to Detroit, stopping on the way at Dundas, the Mohawk reservation near Brantford, Oxford (which he was very surprised to find was the name of a district rather than a town), and Chatham. After a brief stay in Detroit, he went by boat up the St. Clair River and Lake Huron to Mackinac. There is an extraordinary contrast between his comments on the Canadian and American aspects of the journey. While in Canada he commented on scenery, carriages, food, trees, road-building, houses, barns, fences, clearing the land, fishing, and the material culture of the Indians; in the United States he commented on religious and political ideas. He commented, in each country, on what there was to comment on. Apart from the corduroy roads, which made travel by stage coach wearisome, his main trial on this journey (and, indeed, throughout thirty-three years in Canada) was the inhabitants' utter lack of appreciation of the dignity and respect which should be accorded a clergyman of the Church of England. In Detroit he was both distressed at the familiarity with which the Episcopalians addressed the Bishop of Michigan and impressed with the latter's tremendous popularity among the people. Americans, especially those of the Presbyterian persuasion, irked him: he found it necessary to inform one of these that the history of the United States had formed no part of his education at the University of Oxford! Certainly he was no admirer of American democracy; moreover, he was convinced that the sheer wealth of the United States would lead, ultimately, to dictatorship.<sup>14</sup>

Glimpses of the political philosophy which Beaven inculcated in Canadian youth for a third of the nineteenth century are afforded by his comments on democracy in general:

... the conclusion I draw is ... that democratical theories are totally inapplicable to any state of great extent, and in an advanced condition of civilization; that, in short, if a state in this kind of progression begins with democracy, it must pass through aristocracy or oligarchy into monarchy or tyranny ... it must be admitted that the *ἦθος* or habit of mind which is most likely to adopt high-church views is that which is most likely to tend to a love of monarchy; and I could never yet understand how a person whose mind was formed by the Scriptures could be anything else but a lover of monarchy in the abstract, however much he might feel it his duty to acquiesce in that form of civil polity under which Divine Providence had cast his lot. ... Independently of every other consideration, I must always think that form of civil, as well as of ecclesiastical polity, to be best, which most directly tends to train the mind to reverence and submit to the one universal *monarchy* of the Supreme Being, and the limited *monarchy* which he has ordained in every family. Nor is it one of the least reproaches of American republicanism

<sup>14</sup>James Beaven, *Recreations of a Long Vacation; or a Visit to Indian Missions in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1846), 105-6.

that, by the confessions of those who live under it, it tends most strongly to weaken that authority which God has revealed as placed in the hands of parents.<sup>15</sup>

When Beaven, at long last, resigned his professorship in 1871, the appointment of his successor immediately aroused enthusiastic and universal approval. George Paxton Young had already lived in Ontario for twenty-four years, and his extraordinary abilities and scholarship had won him a great influence in religious and educational circles. Born in 1818, in the manse at Berwick-on-Tweed, Young was educated at both the High School and the University of Edinburgh. During his university course he was distinguished in his favourite subjects of mathematics and philosophy. On taking the degree of M.A., he taught mathematics at Dollar Academy for a number of years. Then came the great disruption of the Church of Scotland, and Young was so attracted by Chalmers's liberal cause that he entered the Free Church Theological Hall, was subsequently ordained, and given a call to the Martyrs' Church, Paisley. But after a few months he emigrated to Canada. Three years later, in 1850, he became minister of Knox Church in the rising city of Hamilton. In 1853 he was appointed Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Knox's College (as it was then called) where, during the next eleven years, he exhibited his great versatility by filling various chairs in succession: it is said that he lectured in almost every department of the College.<sup>16</sup>

By 1864 Young's philosophical development had made it impossible for him to give to the Westminster Confession the sort of assent expected by the Presbyterian Church and he resigned his professorship (although for a short time afterwards he remained in charge of Knox's preparatory department), and subsequently withdrew from the ministry. Thirty years later his portrait was unveiled in Knox College, the tribute of a later generation to his intellectual honesty. Following his resignation Young apparently remained aloof from church membership until 1878, in which year he asked the Session of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, if they would accept him to their fellowship without asking any questions concerning his religious beliefs. This they gladly did, and, although Young declined to teach a Bible class or to serve as elder, it is related that "he remained a consistent member of St. Andrew's, a most regular and devout worshipper, an almost painfully attentive

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 100-3.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. John Macdonald Duncan, "George Paxton Young" (*University of Toronto Monthly*, II, 1901, 60).

listener, a generous supporter of the missionary and philanthropic efforts of the Church."<sup>17</sup> On March 3, 1889, five days after Young's death, the Reverend Daniel James Macdonnell delivered at St. Andrew's a stirring memorial sermon entitled *Death Abolished*, in which he was at considerable pains to point out that there could be no reasonable doubt that the late professor had retained the fundamental beliefs of Christianity, although putting his own philosophical interpretation upon them. Two days previously, in his presidential funeral address in the old Convocation Hall, Sir Daniel Wilson had given a similarly strong assurance to the University community.

On severing his relationship with Knox College, Young was appointed to the staff of the Ontario Department of Education, and during the next four years he served as inspector of high schools under Egerton Ryerson, who entrusted him with the task of reorganizing the grammar schools of the province. This difficult assignment was carried out so skilfully that Young was retained by the Department as a member of its Central Committee on Education (an advisory board) until his death, and his suggestions were embodied in several school acts.<sup>18</sup> In 1868 Knox College, which prized his abilities too highly to be reconciled to his loss, persuaded him to return to its faculty, on the distinct understanding that he would not be required to teach theology. Young's great chance, which set him firmly on the road to glory, finally came in 1871 with his appointment to the chair of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics in University College.

During its first century every university develops a culture hero, and such a legendary figure George Paxton Young has become as a result of his next eighteen years at the University of Toronto. Although it is still possible to talk to at least seven men, all in their eighties, who were Young's students, it is impossible to penetrate the aura of reverence and greatness which surrounds his name: the legend is, in fact, so strongly established today that it seems, inevitably, to envelop anyone who sets out critically to examine it. On what grounds does Young's enviable reputation as a philosopher rest? It cannot, certainly, be accounted for in terms of his published work; it must therefore be interpreted in terms of his extraordinary power and attractiveness as a teacher.

<sup>17</sup>D. J. Macdonnell, *Death Abolished* (Toronto, privately printed, 1889), 9-10.

<sup>18</sup>An account of Young's contributions to secondary education in Ontario is given in A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty (eds.), *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914-17), XVIII. "The three great events in the history of secondary education between 1830 and 1880 are Young's three reports on the grammar and high schools, written between 1864 and 1867, when Young was inspector" (p. 377).

Some consideration of his writings does serve, however, to illustrate his versatility, and to explain, more specifically, his remarkable reputation among such graduates of the University of Toronto as Chief Justice Sir Lyman Duff, the Reverend and Honourable H. J. Cody, and Dean A. T. De Lury.

It was the unanimous conviction of Young's students that he was one of the greatest teachers of philosophy the world had ever known. Making due allowances for the hero-worship which surrounds his name, there can be no doubt that he possessed in exceptional degree the art of making philosophy the most interesting and stimulating subject in the curriculum. Whether in psychology or in the history of philosophy he adorned his lectures with apt quotations from English literature, and he used an amazing repertoire of illustrative material from history as well. The great philosophical systems of the past emerged from his lectures as living realities of the present moment. Over sixty years later students can still recall vivid details of their experience with him. "I remember," Dr. H. J. Cody has related, "that one night he read to us Whittier's poem 'The Eternal Goodness,' which, I should say, expressed his own religious convictions. I can never hear any part of that poem without thinking of Dr. Young. He read it with such conviction that it was almost a kind of prophetic utterance."<sup>19</sup> Young's colleague in English literature, Sir Daniel Wilson, said that his critical appreciation of poetry surprised those who had thought him a mere metaphysician. "Professor Young," another student has written, "was a prince among teachers. There are scores who owe to him their intellectual life. . . . Few teachers have enjoyed the personal affection of their pupils to the same extent as Professor Young. For years he was to many a graduate the strongest tie that bound him to his Alma-Mater."<sup>20</sup> To a distinguished professor of English literature, who had studied at Johns Hopkins and Harvard, Young's personality was the secret of his remarkable appeal:

He was a survival of an extinct race of giants, the Edinburgh metaphysicians; and he brought into the class-room all the dignity of the old school. He always appeared in his "blacks," flapped trousers of a pattern worn early in the century, and an old-fashioned claw-hammer coat, always looking new and carefully brushed. . . . As he begins to speak, his voice is harsh and thin; the Scottish burr grates intolerably. But soon it gathers richness and depth and power; Young is warming to his work, and your only fear is that he will stop. . . . Young's lecture was more than a lecture. As a mere expositor, simply as a teacher of his subject, able to arouse

<sup>19</sup>Personal interview, May 22, 1950.

<sup>20</sup>Duncan, "George Paxton Young," 62.



interest and hold attention, I never heard his equal. The hour we spent in his class-room never seemed long . . . for I never saw or heard anything but Young from first to last . . . he never attempted to raise a laugh, but there was a good deal of laughing in his class. Sometimes it was the laugh of intellectual superiority as Mill, Reid, Hamilton and Co., were battered about, and we learned that it was paying something or other too high a compliment to call it wrong, it was nonsense. . . . He took hold of us; he awoke us to life, the life of the mind. His teaching was in effect, if not in method, more like what we learn of the teaching of Socrates, than anything I can imagine, of a modern Socrates a lover of wisdom, reinforced by the perfervid energy of the Scot.<sup>21</sup>

For all Young's greatness as a teacher, however, the essential clue to his legend emerges only from a careful scrutiny of his intellectual development, which is revealed in his publications to a greater degree than his students have realized.

In 1854, shortly after his initial appointment to Knox College, Young published *Miscellaneous Discourses and Expositions of Scripture*, a collection of sermons he had delivered to his congregation in Hamilton. This book is at once a testimony to his powers of exegesis and a tribute to the intelligence of our great-grandparents. In the last chapter, a running exposition of the Book of Habakkuk, the influence of one of the great German scholars of the first half of the nineteenth century, Friedrich Gesenius, is apparent. Young must have been one of the earliest, if not the first, to introduce into Central Canada the historical and critical methods of analysing the Old Testament that were being developed in Europe. This volume reveals, also, its author's sensitive appreciation of poetry, more especially in his beautiful translation from the Hebrew of Habakkuk's Hymn.

Young's contemporaries were astonished by his phenomenal range of scholarship; they believed that he could have taught Oriental languages, classics, or mathematics as effectively as he taught theology and philosophy. Certainly his contributions to mathematics suggest that he may have missed his calling. He published no less than ten important mathematical papers, six of them in the *American Journal of Mathematics*, mainly in the Theory of Quintic Equations.<sup>22</sup> His colleague in Natural Philosophy, J. B. Cherriman, considered that Young was the most remarkable

<sup>21</sup>Archibald MacMechan, *Reminiscences of Toronto University* (Halifax, privately printed, n.d.), 8-12.

<sup>22</sup>For a bibliography of Young's mathematical papers see [Alexander], *The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906*, 253-4. A recent discovery of Professor C. B. Sissons suggests that President S. S. Nelles must have offered Young the chair of Mathematics in Victoria University toward the end of the latter's service with the Department of Education. In Nelles's unpublished diary, under date January 8, 1868, the following entry appears: "Called on Prof. Young. Find he has fully decided not to come as Prof. of Mathematics."

mathematician of that generation. That his mathematical researches were not entirely unrelated to his philosophy is evident from a paper entitled "Boole's Mathematical Theory of the Laws of Thought" which appeared in the *Canadian Journal* in 1865.

Young published nothing in philosophy except a lecture on *Freedom and Necessity*, and that only at the urgent request of the students of Knox College to whom he had delivered it in the spring of 1870. Henry Calderwood characterized this lecture, in which the theories of Edwards, Locke, and J. S. Mill are discussed and the "Liberty of Indifference" attacked, as "a fine example of clear definition, critical acumen, and true appreciation of the difficulties besetting the problem."<sup>23</sup> In 1911 James Gibson Hume published *The Ethics of Freedom*, which included, in addition to the foregoing lecture, brief notes of Young's classroom treatment of such subjects as the phases of the will, deliberation, attention, effort, desire, utilitarianism, Calderwood's doctrine of ethical intuition, and the theory of evolution. From this material and from two sets of lecture notes for the years 1854-5<sup>24</sup> and 1882-3 which have survived, one may reconstruct Young's philosophical development.

There were three stages in this development. During his student days at Edinburgh Young came under the powerful influence of Sir William Hamilton and the philosophy of Common Sense. In an elaborate essay on *The Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion*, which was published in 1862, he explicitly rejected "root and branch" the doctrines of this school. His repudiation of the Scottish School may have been responsible for the radical change in his theological views which occurred in 1864. J. G. Hume has suggested that "he saw that many of the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church were moulded in the thought and phraseology of this philosophy and so he found that he could not teach what he regarded as erroneous." In any event, Young now began an intensive and sympathetic study of Kant, in which he was assisted by the writings of Edward Caird and, later, by John Watson's first book, *Kant and His English Critics*. The third and final phase occurred in 1883 with the publication of T. H. Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*. Thereafter he identified his philosophical views with those of the great British idealist.

<sup>23</sup>"Professor George Paxton Young, LL.D." (*Knox College Monthly*, X, 1889, 3.)

<sup>24</sup>The notes of Young's lectures for 1854-5 were taken down by Alexander Matheson, then a student at Knox College. His son, D. Y. Matheson of Winnipeg, presented the note-book to Dr. George B. King, who recently deposited it in the library of Victoria University. The present writer is indebted for this and other valuable material to Dr. King's interest in the preservation of rare records of Canadian history.

There can be no doubt that Young's remarkable reputation as a teacher was largely due to his capacity to demonstrate that materialism is "unproved, unprovable, and absurd," with which was coupled an eloquent exposition of Objective Idealism. In a period when traditional religious faith was being severely shaken by the rise of science, generations of students flocked, inevitably, to the lecture-room of a professor who could re-establish on immovable philosophical foundations their belief in spiritual reality. "Everybody who could possibly do so," Dr. H. J. Cody has related, "went to his lectures, which were always crowded. He was held in real reverence by all the students. We had the feeling that here was a man at the very antithesis to the materialist, that here was a man who believed in the dominance of the intellectual and the spiritual. We always had the impression that he was *the* typical seeker after truth: he was a man of intense convictions because he had worked his way through to his system of philosophy himself. His inspiration was Immanuel Kant, modified by T. H. Green."<sup>25</sup> If George Paxton Young strengthened or saved the religious faith of his students, it was because he, himself, after long questioning, had won, through Objective Idealism, a new sense of life. This is the essential clue to his legend.<sup>26</sup>

Although Queen's University was established in 1841, it was not until the appointment of James George to a chair of Logic and of Mental and Moral Philosophy in 1853 that philosophy was specifically recognized as distinct from theology. Queen's first philosopher was no new-comer: in 1846 he had been appointed Professor of Systematic Theology to lecture for six weeks during the winter "at such a period of the session as he can most conveniently obtain supply for his ministerial charge." After a colourful, if somewhat chequered, nine years in philosophy he returned to a pastoral charge at Stratford, Ontario, where he died in 1870. It is recorded that he was an able, earnest, and eloquent preacher, and a faithful, devoted, and successful pastor. In a variety of ways he may be compared to and contrasted with James Beaven, his Toronto parallel.

Born in Perthshire, Scotland, about 1801, George was educated at the Dollar Academy, and at St. Andrews and Glasgow universities, the latter of which conferred on him the degree of D.D. in 1855. In 1829 he emigrated to the United States, where he was licensed to preach by the Saratoga Presbytery of the Associate

<sup>25</sup>Personal interview, May 22, 1950.

<sup>26</sup>For a minority report on Young by a distinguished graduate of the University of Toronto see Henry Rushton Fairclough, *Warming Both Hands* (London, 1941), 28.

Reformed Church. After four years he moved to Canada and became minister of the Presbyterian church at Scarborough, where, with the exception of seven months in Belleville, he remained until his full-time appointment to Queen's.<sup>27</sup> In 1853 the resignation of the Reverend Dr. John Machar had left Queen's without a principal; during the next four years George served as vice-principal, though in reality he was acting principal. When he resigned this position in 1857, the Board of Trustees passed a resolution which stated that they took the "opportunity of renewing their entire confidence not only in the eminent ability but in the unwearied diligence of Dr. George in the discharge of his duties." This resolution is the more interesting in view of the long and bitter feud in which George had become involved the year before with his colleague in Classical Literature, the Reverend George Weir. The feud, which began over an academic matter, culminated in a libellous personal attack by Weir, in which George's personal conduct was seriously impugned. Weir lampooned his colleague in verse, persecuted him in and out of college, demanded his dismissal by the Trustees (who refused to take action), and finally brought about his voluntary resignation.<sup>28</sup> It was not inappropriate that George's friends should have published after his death a collection of his sermons which they entitled (perhaps in remembrance of the sufficiently lurid details of the famous feud), *Thoughts on High Themes*.

With the preoccupations of teaching, administration, and feuding, it is hardly surprising that George found little time for publication. Yet he was the author of a number of pamphlets, containing mostly lectures and sermons, as well as a book, *The Sabbath School of the Fireside*, which was published at Kingston in 1859, at the very height of the feud with Weir. At least seven of his pamphlets have survived, including two addresses delivered in his capacity as vice-chancellor at the opening of the fourteenth and fifteenth sessions of Queen's; an address to the Senate and students of Queen's on the occasion of the first conferring of the degree of M.D.; and two public lectures entitled *The Poetic Element in the*

<sup>27</sup>Cf. William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1885) 448-9.

<sup>28</sup>D. D. Calvin, the official historian of Queen's University, refers to this famous academic feud with bated breath. The curious reader will find all the necessary documents, including Weir's notorious lampoon, in *The Court of Error and Appeal for Upper Canada: Weir v. Mathieson* (Toronto, 1865). George's conduct during these trying years seems to have been as exemplary as the motion of the Queen's Trustees suggests. In 1856, shortly after Weir launched his attack, George, as vice-principal of the University, delivered a stirring address to the students entitled "Moral Courage," at the opening of the fifteenth session.

*Scottish Mind*, and *What is Civilization?* His style was characterized by a luxuriant imagination and a certain splendour of illustration which invested the most familiar subject with charm and freshness. In his sermons, especially, he did not hesitate to ring the changes—he could be impassioned, soft or low, loud or vehement at will.

One of his sermons, *The Duties of Subjects to Their Rulers*, defines his attitude to the Rebellion of 1837-8. Preached at Scarborough on Thanksgiving Day, immediately after the rising, it was given wide circulation in Presbyterian circles in pamphlet form. To George the rebels were mad and wicked men who had sought by armed violence to overthrow the revered British constitution, the "nurse" and "protector" of genuine liberty:

I urge obedience to the Government under which we live, because I believe it to be substantially a Government of law and of justice. I stand up zealously in its defence because it is my solemn conviction that whatever has been wrong in its administration may be corrected by constitutional means, while I would regard its overthrow as the sorest calamity, of a temporal sort, that could befall this Province. . . . We enjoy the protection of the mightiest and most efficient Government on earth, without contributing anything to its support. Truth and common sense have often been outraged, but scarcely ever to the same extent, as by the outcry raised in this Province about oppressive burdens. There is an insolent impudence about the whole thing, which makes one for a moment forget the monstrous falsehood, in the insult offered to his understanding. That persons could be found who would utter this cry of oppression to *answer an end*, is not surprising; but that thousands should have been found so credulously mad as to assent to it, is really fitted quite as much to excite a smile of pity at their weakness, as the conduct of their deceivers is fitted to provoke the frown of indignation. . . . Be upon your guard against those new and untried theories, which are now so often put forth, and never put forth, I am sorry to say it, without some portion of censure levelled at Great Britain and her institutions, and this, too, by men of British birth! . . . These men do not so much hate their native land as they hate their race. Let the light that now blazes from Britain be quenched, and all nations would feel that a great light had been put out, which the world could ill want. Let the power of Britain be destroyed, and the fulcrum on which the liberty of the world turns would be broken.<sup>29</sup>

It would be a mistake to conclude from George's political views that he was merely a patriotic reactionary. On such subjects as psychological medicine and the future of civilization, for example, his views have an unmistakable touch of modernity. In his address to the first medical graduates of Queen's he naturally warned the new doctors to be on their guard against the materialism of the eighteenth century, which he characterized as "a mass of gratuitous assumptions, supported by such childish and super-

<sup>29</sup>*Thoughts on High Themes* (Toronto, 1874), 197, 209, 229-30.

ficial arguments, as to make all men of sense and learning thoroughly ashamed of it." At the same time, he had come to realize, as a result of his pastoral experience, that the connection between mind and body is so subtle and so constant that the role of mental factors in many bodily diseases cannot be denied. The physician who would attain "solid distinction" in the art of healing must, therefore, go through a severe course of training in mental philosophy. "The young man who is too lazy to seek after this kind of learning, or ignorantly sneers at it, is already as high in his profession as he ever will be, and possibly a *little higher* than he ought to be."<sup>30</sup>

The range of George's reading and sympathies is perhaps best illustrated in his lecture, *What is Civilization?* which was distributed in pamphlet form to Queen's alumni and others with the object of raising a bursary fund. Civilization, the philosopher affirmed, does not consist in the accumulation of wealth among a people, nor in the achievement of splendour, elegance, and excellence in the arts, nor in the attainment of polished manners, nor even in the creation of literature of a sort. Civilization consists essentially "in the conscience and intellect of a people thoroughly cultivated, and the intellect in all cases acting under the direction of an enlightened conscience." In George's opinion four factors were responsible for the current decay of civilization (the lecture was originally delivered at Kingston in 1859): insubordination to law and government; dishonest dealings in the ordinary transactions of life; the growing practice on this continent of assassination; and the prevalence of atheism. These dissolving factors were more than counterbalanced, however, by the operation of four constructive forces: the triumphs of physical science; the development of world-wide communications; the opening up to Western influences of China, Japan, and other hitherto isolated regions of the world; and the extension of Christianity through the unparalleled missionary efforts of the nineteenth century. While George expounded the growing faith of his age in the inevitability of progress, he was far from optimistic concerning the role of philosophy in the advancement of civilization.

Philosophy, properly so called, has never civilized and never will civilize the popular mind. For this great work from Plato down to Jeremy Bentham, Philosophers have all been miserably inefficient, while the wisest of them have frankly confessed their inefficiency. . . . Philosophy may sit as a queen on her throne, if she only teaches Science and Art, but if she attempts to be an instructress in ethics and to

<sup>30</sup>An Address Delivered on the 5th April, 1855, before the Senatus and Students of Queen's College, on Conferring the Degree of Doctor of Medicine (Kingston, 1855), 13.



lay down principles for social life and civil government, she will utter nothing better than pretty rhetoric or feeble logical theories, to which men may listen, or on which they may curiously speculate; but from which they never can draw principles that shall bind their conscience or regulate their moral conduct.<sup>31</sup>

The first professor of philosophy at Queen's was convinced that science, technology, and, above all, religion—but certainly not philosophy—held the keys to the future of civilization.

It was the task of George's successors to develop a more mature approach to philosophy at Queen's. John Clark Murray, who arrived from Scotland in 1862, was the first thoroughly trained and the first professional philosopher to appear in Central Canada. As he was associated with Queen's for only ten years and with McGill for forty-five we shall consider his achievement later. Murray's departure for Montreal in 1872 made possible the most important event in Canadian philosophy in the nineteenth century—the appointment of John Watson as his successor at Queen's.

Born in Glasgow in 1847, Watson received his early education at the Free Church School, Kilmarnock. He then spent six years at the University of Glasgow where he distinguished himself in philosophy, classics, and English, and from which he received the degree of M.A. in 1872. A few months after graduation he was appointed, on Edward Caird's recommendation, to the chair of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics at Queen's. Here he taught philosophy with great learning, rare wisdom, and high authority for the next fifty-two years. He survived retirement for another fifteen years, dying in 1939 within a month of his ninety-second birthday after having lived in Kingston for sixty-seven years. From 1901 to 1924 he was Vice-Principal of the University. He was the first, and, up to the present, the only Canadian to receive the high honour of an invitation to give the Gifford Lectures. One of the four great teachers of philosophy (in the opinion of many the greatest) in Canada during the last hundred years, Watson was the first philosopher in this country to achieve an international reputation through his writings. British and American historians of philosophy always list him as one of the leading representatives of the idealistic movement in the Anglo-Saxon world. His ghost is still influential. Last year when it became necessary to select a new head for the Department of Philosophy at Queen's a "Back to Watson" cry arose; and Principal R. C. Wallace called from Scotland a young man who was thoroughly grounded in Kant, in the hope that the Watsonian tradition would be revived.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>James George, *What is Civilization?* (Kingston, 1859), 48-9.

<sup>32</sup>Personal interview, March 31, 1950. The present writer is indebted to Principal Wallace for an evaluation of Watson's significance for Queen's.



It is difficult to understand Watson's philosophy and influence without some appreciation of the role of Edward Caird in his intellectual development. As a student, and later as a fellow, at Oxford, in the early eighteen-sixties, Caird was associated with his tutor, Benjamin Jowett, and his friend, Thomas Hill Green, in the early development of that great philosophical movement known as British Idealism. This school derived its inspiration from both Platonic and Hegelian sources, and the introduction of German idealism into England is due mainly to Caird. In Scotland at that period the reigning philosophy was Common Sense as modified by Hamilton, and in England empiricism as developed by Bentham, J. S. Mill, and Spencer. The Hamiltonian movement was so opaque as hardly to require refutation, but the strongly entrenched empiricism of Mill and (later) Spencer required for its demolition all the ardour and intellect that Green and Caird could command. In this task Green assumed the role of critical analyst of systems opposed to Hegel's, while Caird expounded and examined the critical philosophy of Kant with the object of showing that this philosophy, if interpreted rationally and consistently, led to the Absolute Idealism of Hegel.

As the new idealism developed, it gradually became apparent that a more rational and more liberal interpretation of Christianity than had hitherto existed was possible. Confronted with the advance of science, the theory of evolution, the new biblical criticism, and an aggressive enlightenment, Edward Caird and his elder brother John Caird, who became Professor of Divinity at Glasgow in 1862, sought to show that Absolute Idealism preserved the essence of traditional religion while giving to it a more rational form. It was the historic mission of John Watson tirelessly to develop Absolute Idealism in all its phases, but more especially in its religious phase, with great clarity, penetration, and brilliance for over half a century at Queen's. It could be said of him, as he himself said of Edward Caird, that "his one persistent effort was to convert the half-superstitious beliefs with which most men are satisfied into a rational faith, which should be able to reconcile itself with the progress of the natural sciences, with the highest results of historical criticism, and with the deepest truth of philosophy."

In 1866, when the young Watson entered the University of Glasgow with the intention of studying for the ministry, Edward Caird had just been appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy. Caird's inaugural lecture made a profound impression upon the new student. Over forty years later Watson remembered the

"curious way" in which Caird had linked Socrates and Christianity, Aristotle and St. Paul. He had been accustomed to regard Christianity as a thing apart, but he now received from Caird a new insight into the kinship of Greek philosophy and the Christian religion. Later, as a student of Caird's for three years, he saw exhibited the process by which Greek philosophy gave rise to the categories by means of which Christian experience was gradually developed into a theology that enabled it to conquer the world:

All this was nothing less than the disclosure of a new world to a Scottish youth, who from his early years had been accustomed to roll like a sweet morsel under his tongue such abstract themes as the relations of faith and works, predestination and foreknowledge. The close shell of traditional Calvinism was burst, and we gradually learned to seek for truth in the interpretation of experience, conceived in the widest way as the experience of the race, and as comprehending the vast, slow, never hasting, never resting, movement of humanity. Thus philosophy ceased to be a mere academic theory, or even a special investigation into a particular section of human life, and expanded into the nobler discipline of an interpretation of social and political life and institutions, of art and religion, as these developed into ever higher and more perfect forms in the great secular process of history.<sup>33</sup>

At the age of twenty-five, Watson came to Kingston sealed with the seal of Edward Caird, to whom it gave no small satisfaction to know that idealism would have such a strong representative in Canada. "Professor Watson," Caird wrote in 1892, "one of my earliest pupils in Glasgow, [is] perhaps the man of 'driest light' that I know. I do not know anyone who sees his way more clearly through any philosophical entanglement."<sup>34</sup>

The young philosopher had barely arrived at Queen's when, on October 16, 1872, he charted his future course in an inaugural lecture, *The Relation of Philosophy to Science*. This lecture, which runs to thirty-seven printed pages, is by any standard a remarkable performance for a man of his years. In it, Watson surveyed incisively and maturely the spheres and limits of philosophy, science, and religion. The presuppositions and weaknesses of T. H. Huxley's scientific materialism, Herbert Spencer's evolutionary naturalism, and J. S. Mill's empiricism were pointed out with devastating accuracy; and the claims of religion were vindicated by an appeal to the Kantian critical philosophy, to which were added the overtones of Caird's idealism. He concluded by a stirring insistence on the unity of human experience:

<sup>33</sup>"Edward Caird as a Teacher and Thinker" (*Queen's Quarterly*, XVI, 1908, 304).

<sup>34</sup>Henry Jones and J. H. Muirhead, *The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird* (Glasgow, 1921), 183.

... the three departments of Philosophy of which we have spoken are intimately related to one of the most important subjects that can engage the attention of the human mind. . . . Logic and Metaphysics and Ethics were incomplete if they did not, as their final result, lead us up to the Infinite and to God. Philosophy elevates itself above all mere opinions, above all untested assumptions, above all caprice and impulse—in short, above all that is peculiar to this or that individual—and lives and moves in the realm of necessary truth. It shews that man is able to free himself from all unwarranted beliefs and to unveil the secret of the universe, by discovering the essential rationality that, however it may be concealed from those who seek it not, shines through all the outward manifestations of Nature and of Spirit. All men, consciously or unconsciously, participate in universal truth, and thus there is a universal consciousness, given *through* the consciousness of the individual, but in no way *dependent* upon it. In thus revealing necessary truth, Philosophy at the same time reveals Him who is Truth itself . . . the assurance which Religion gives to the individual man of the existence of a Supreme Being whom he must reverence and love, Philosophy endorses and supports. The fundamental notions with which it is the office of Logic to deal may not inappropriately be termed the plan of the universe as it existed in the Divine mind before the creation of the world; the long but sure path, by which Metaphysic ascends from the inorganic world to the world of living beings, and thence to the realm first of individual consciousness, and next of universal thought, at last terminates and loses itself in the all-embracing glory of God; and the highest lesson that Ethics has to teach is that only by unity with the divine nature, only by the elevation of his individual will to the high standard of duty, can man enter into the glorious liberty wherewith the truth makes free.<sup>35</sup>

Such was the conception of philosophy that was destined to remain dominant in Canada for the next half-century.

No general eulogies of Watson's greatness as a teacher could do justice to his significance to the students of Queen's. He meant as much to the last of these in the early nineteen-twenties as to their grandparents whom he had taught in the eighteen-seventies. By generation after generation of students he was considered the greatest philosopher in the world. "No one," it has been said, "went lightly to his classes, for each person knew that any day he might be subjected to an hour's questioning which would reveal the depths of his ignorance. The cross-examiner was patient and kindly in his explanation, but he was also deadly in his detection of sham or intellectual indolence. But no serious student missed these classes; the whole university knew that minds were transformed there."<sup>36</sup> In 1900, after twenty-eight years at Queen's, Watson described his own aims as a teacher: "We have not attempted to keep our pupils in leading strings. We have taught them to think for themselves. . . . Timid people think we are

<sup>35</sup>John Watson, *The Relation of Philosophy to Science* (Kingston, 1873), 36-7.

<sup>36</sup>W. E. McNeill, "John Watson" (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series, XXXIII, 1939, 160-1).

dangerous. I think we are. We are very dangerous to superstition and tradition and intellectual sloth. . . . I venture to say that we have saved young men from shallow scepticism and shallow traditionalism by teaching them as men, not as babes. A university has as its main aim to supplement the weakness of the individual by the strength of the race."<sup>37</sup> In view of the socio-cultural conditions of nineteenth-century Ontario and the Scottish Presbyterian character of Queen's, it is only natural that no small part of Watson's appeal (and in this he parallels George Paxton Young) should have been due to his devastating criticisms of positivism and materialism and his dynamic defence of religious idealism. Each day's first class was always opened with the lines of the collect: "Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help." It became a student tradition at Queen's that Watson really said: "God bless me and Immanuel Kant; damn Comte, Mill, and Spencer, and all the Hedonists."

Through its impact upon candidates for the ministry, Watson's teaching exerted a profound and liberating influence upon the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and indirectly upon the community as a whole. Stephen Leacock has remarked somewhere that the Presbyterian minister in a small town had a superior advantage over the Anglican, for the former had studied under the great John Watson and could impress the townspeople with public lectures on philosophy! But Watson also influenced students of the humanities and natural sciences, for philosophy then, as now, was a compulsory subject in all courses in the Faculty of Arts and Science at Queen's. Even the journalists had heard of him; the *Montreal Daily Star* once described him as "the greatest philosophical mind which a Canadian University ever harboured." Among his pupils who have occupied leading positions in Canadian academic life may be mentioned J. M. MacEachran, long the head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Alberta; the late R. A. Wilson, formerly head of the Department of English at the University of Saskatchewan, whose book, *The Miraculous Birth of Language*, won an admiring preface from George Bernard Shaw (who failed to realize, however, that Wilson's theories were directly inspired by Watson's interpretations of Kant and Darwin); and the Reverend Dr. A. Dawson Matheson, Dean of Emmanuel College in Toronto.

Watson's writings and lectures enjoyed wide popularity because

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 161.

his teaching had a definite organic relationship to the sociocultural environment of the age. The idealism of Caird and Watson, as James Cappon has pointed out,

had a well-defined public, whose needs and receptivities counted for something in the form which their teaching took. . . . A certain sobriety of speculation was impressed upon it by the need of adjusting its highest thought to a watchful and enquiring public which was not confined to academic circles. Even its language, apart from the necessities of technical exposition, tended towards the plainer usage, as something that was meant to reach a wider public. Caird and Watson were great Kantian scholars and profoundly influenced by the ideas of Hegel, but their thinking was moulded in a form which had little of the severely scholastic character of German metaphysic. They accustomed themselves to use a language which was as readable as that of Locke or Hume, only that it carried more of the natural refinement and complexity of modern thought.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps the most astonishing aspect of Watson's career is the sheer volume of his publications, amounting to fifteen fat books, over sixty major articles, and uncounted book reviews.<sup>39</sup> He contributed to both technical and popular journals in Britain, Germany, the United States, and Canada; and there was scarcely a current philosophical controversy in which he did not engage. Shortly after coming to Canada he identified himself with the St. Louis Hegelians (a remarkable group of enthusiasts for classical German philosophy which had been organized by H. C. Brokmeyer and W. T. Harris), and contributed various articles to their *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. When the *Philosophical Review* was established in 1892, Watson was the honoured author of its second article on "The Critical Philosophy and Idealism." Such semi-popular magazines as the *Canadian Monthly*, Rose-Belford's *Canadian Monthly*, *New World*, and the *Queen's Quarterly* (of which he was one of the mainstays for over thirty years) carried numerous articles from his pen. He was constantly on the war-path against Tyndall, Nietzsche, Spencer, and the American pragmatists; but he was also constantly building up constructive approaches to Kant, Hegel, and his contemporaries in the idealistic movement. Philo and the New Testament, Gnostic theology, Dante and medieval thought, Leibniz and Protestantism, Lessing and art criticism, the poetry of Browning—all were grist for his mill, and

<sup>38</sup>*Philosophical Essays Presented to John Watson* (Kingston, 1922), 1. This volume was prepared by philosophers and literary men of Britain, the United States, and Canada to celebrate the golden anniversary of Watson's professorship at Queen's. In 1941, during its Centenary Year, Queen's sponsored a volume of essays, edited by Principal R. C. Wallace, in which Watson was honoured as one of the six makers of the University.

<sup>39</sup>For a bibliography of Watson's writings between 1872 and 1922 see *Philosophical Essays*, 343-6.

the mill was continually turning out a product of the highest quality.

Watson's books fall into four main groups, according as they are concerned with (1) classical German philosophy, (2) hedonism, positivism, and empiricism, (3) the philosophy of religion, or (4) political philosophy. While it is not within the scope of the present paper to present a technical analysis and evaluation of these varied contributions, nevertheless certain brief comments may enable the historian to appreciate the nature of their author's international reputation. On German philosophy, Watson wrote such authoritative books as *Kant and His English Critics* (1881), *The Philosophy of Kant Explained* (1908), and *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism* (1882). German scholars regarded him as one of the foremost authorities on Kant in the nineteenth century, and Hans Vaihinger invited him to contribute articles to *Kantstudien*, a highly technical journal. In addition to these expository and critical works, he edited and translated *Selections from Kant*, a book which was revised and reprinted eleven times between 1882 and 1934. This project grew out of a deep-seated belief that if students of philosophy were to pass from a lower to a higher plane of thought they must read the classical texts for themselves. He would set his own class of more advanced students at work upon extracts from the philosophy of Kant, watch them as they struggled with its perplexities, and give helpful instruction only when it was needed. This method was adopted at Harvard and spread thence to many other leading American universities. It is no exaggeration to say that Watson has done more to promote the study of Kant on this continent than any other North American philosopher.

In 1891 Watson performed a similar service for the empirical school with the publication of *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill*, a book of extracts. This was followed in 1895 by *Comte, Mill, and Spencer*, ostensibly a critical exposition of nineteenth-century positivism, empiricism, and evolutionism, but actually a constructive introduction to philosophy in general. In 1898 an elaborate addendum, *Notes, Historical and Critical, to Comte, Mill and Spencer*, appeared, and later that year the two volumes were fused and published under a new title, *Outline of Philosophy*. During the next twenty-five years this book ran through half a dozen editions, and formed the basis of the introductory course in philosophy in many American and Canadian universities. Its wide acceptability in that period was guaranteed, of course, by Watson's statement of his position in the Preface: "The philosophical creed which commends itself to my mind is what in the text I

have called Speculative Idealism, by which I mean the doctrine that we are capable of knowing Reality as it actually is, and that Reality when so known is absolutely rational" (p. vi). The criticism of the empirical tradition in philosophy was supplemented in 1895 with *Hedonistic Theories from Aristippus to Spencer*, an uncompromising demonstration of the view that no hedonistic theory can plausibly explain morality without assuming ideas inconsistent with its asserted principle.

In the popular consciousness Watson is usually associated with the provision of more adequate philosophical foundations for Christian theology. The popular view is, on the whole, correct, but it should be emphasized that he preferred to regard Christianity as an ideal of conduct rather than an historical theology. This approach was developed in a series of lectures given before the Philosophical Union of the University of California and published in 1897 as *Christianity and Idealism*. Here Watson argued that Christianity and idealism, when each is understood, lend each other mutual support. Each proves the other true; each is seen to be but a different expression of the same indivisibly threefold fact—God, freedom, and immortality. Idealism is the principle of morality and the principle of advancing history. Christianity is the germ of which idealism is the full issue. This conception of the relationship between idealism and Christianity was developed further in 1907 in *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*, a series of essays in the reconstruction and history of religious belief which had been delivered before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Watson's mature philosophy of religion found expression, of course, in the Gifford Lectures which he delivered in the University of Glasgow during the years 1910 to 1912, and which were published in two massive volumes as *The Interpretation of Religious Experience*. This work, the crowning achievement of his philosophical career, concludes with a passionate plea for a faith which has a rational basis—in idealism:

... the religious interests of man can be preserved only by a theology which affirms that all forms of being are manifestations of a single spiritual principle in identification with which the true life of man consists. Living in this faith the future of the race is assured. Religion is the spirit which must more and more subdue all things to itself, informing science and art, and realizing itself in the higher organization of the family, the civic community, the state, and ultimately the world, and gradually filling the mind and heart of every individual with the love of God and the enthusiasm of humanity.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup>John Watson, *The Interpretation of Religious Experience* (Glasgow, 1912), II, 327-8.



The First World War drove Watson to a deeper consideration of the problems of political philosophy which he, unlike most of the British idealists, had hitherto largely neglected. Two articles in the *Queen's Quarterly* on "German Philosophy and Politics" (1915) and "German Philosophy and the War" (1916) heralded the publication in 1919 of his last book, *The State in Peace and War*. Notable for its detachment, this book contains a survey of the evolution of political ideas from the origin of the city-state to the rise of the modern nation-state, an analysis of the latter in terms of its great associations and institutions, and a lengthy discussion of international relations in peace and war. At the age of seventy-two the sage of Kingston prophesied that the treatment of the defeated Central Powers, as well as the structure of the League of Nations, would lead to a renewed war. He died seven months before this dire prediction was realized. Even a brief sketch of his writings must indicate that if any Canadian philosopher of the nineteenth century is remembered in future ages it will surely be John Watson.

McGill University was the earliest of the Central Canadian foundations, but philosophy seems not to have been recognized as a subject distinct from theology until 1853. In that year William Turnbull Leach was transferred from the chair of Classical Literature, which he had accepted on the advice and request of Bishop Mountain in 1846, to a professorship of Logic, Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy. From 1846 he served as vice-principal of the University, and from 1853 as dean of the Faculty of Arts. In 1881 he resigned the Molson chair of English Literature (which he had held since 1858), but retained the administrative positions until his death in 1886.

Leach was born in 1805 at Berwick-on-Tweed, and was educated there, at Stirling, and the University of Edinburgh, from which he received the degree of M.A. in 1827. Three additional years were spent in divinity. Licensed a minister of the Church of Scotland in 1831, he was sent to Canada by the Glasgow Church Society in 1832 and two years later was elected minister of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, where he remained for over seven years.<sup>41</sup> On December 10, 1839, the first meeting to consider the establishment of a Presbyterian college in Toronto or Kingston was held in St. Andrew's. Leach and James George took such a prominent part in the subsequent proceedings that led to the found-

<sup>41</sup>Cf. *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces* (Toronto, 1881), 203-4. In cases of discrepancies in the dates of Leach's academic positions, those provided by McGill University have been used in the present paper.

ing of Queen's University that both philosophers are listed as "founders" in its Royal Charter.<sup>42</sup> The turning point in his career came late in 1842 when he laid before the Presbytery of Toronto a letter stating that he had recently concluded that the Anglican form of church government was vastly superior to the Presbyterian. Leach wished to resign quietly, but the Presbytery insisted on a full trial. After lengthy deliberations a motion was put formally deposing him "from the office of the Holy Ministry." Immediately after this motion was passed unanimously prayer was offered up by James George.<sup>43</sup> It was not long before Leach received holy orders from Bishop Mountain, who licensed him to the incumbency of St. George's church, Montreal. He retained this rectorship for nearly twenty years, resigning it finally to devote his full time to educational duties at McGill. In 1854 he became canon of Christ Church Cathedral, and in 1865 Archdeacon of Montreal. For many years he was a member of the Council of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec.

Heavy administrative and clerical duties doubtless prevented Leach from publishing anything other than a few sermons. Of these at least two, written in an opaque style, have survived. The first, delivered late in 1838 at St. Andrew's, sternly asserts that the recent rebellion was a direct visitation of God's wrath upon a sinful people; the second, delivered in 1840 to the 93rd regiment of Highlanders (whose chaplain he had been during 1837-8), stoutly maintains that the military profession is not incompatible with Christianity. It was fortunate for the development of philosophy at McGill that the Venerable Archdeacon decided in 1872 to devote his whole time to English literature and administration, thereby making possible the appointment of John Clark Murray to the vacancy.

John Clark Murray was the son of David Murray, Provost of Paisley, Scotland, and his wife, Elizabeth Clark. Born in 1836, he was educated at the Paisley Grammar School and at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, obtaining the degree of M.A. from the latter. From Edinburgh he went to Heidelberg and thence to Göttingen. At the age of twenty-six he was already so thoroughly trained and so well known that he was called to the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Queen's University where he remained for ten years, serving as secretary to the Senate during part of this period. His career at Queen's is remembered for his spirited

<sup>42</sup>D. D. Calvin, *Queen's University at Kingston, 1841-1941* (Kingston, 1941), 26-7.

<sup>43</sup>*Proceedings of the Presbytery of Toronto in the Case of Messrs Leach and Ritchie* (Toronto, 1843), 27.

advocacy of the higher education of women. Speaking on this subject at the opening of the session in 1871, he argued that women had been ignored, rather than excluded from the ancient universities. Actually, they *were* excluded, which was contrary to the natural rights of human beings. It was absurd to claim that higher education would disqualify women for the performance of domestic duties: "If the ordinary curriculum of a university does not provide the most appropriate training for the domestic duties of woman, what, in the name of common sense, is the peculiar virtue of the studies which are carried on in ladies' schools?"<sup>44</sup> It was not until 1878, however, that women were officially admitted to the Arts course at Queen's. Meanwhile Murray had accepted the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy at McGill, and his life was identified with this university for the next forty-five years. The struggle for the higher education of women was continued in Montreal. At a meeting of the McGill Arts faculty in the autumn of 1882 he moved a resolution "that the educational advantages of the Faculty should be thrown open to all persons without distinction of sex."<sup>45</sup> But it was not until 1884 that women were admitted to McGill, and even then under disabilities. His wife, Margaret Polson, whom he married in 1865, was a woman of many achievements, including the founding, in 1900, of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. She also had considerable literary success as a poetess, as editor of *Young Canada*, and as the Montreal, Ottawa, and Washington correspondent of the *Week*. Murray retired from McGill in 1903, and died in Montreal in 1917.

During Murray's student days in Scotland the reigning philosopher was Sir William Hamilton; and it was to the Scottish Common Sense School of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Hamilton that he ultimately belonged. But his studies on the Continent convinced him that the work of this school had to be supplemented by ancient, as well as by modern French and German, philosophy. This broad approach entailed an emphasis on the history of philosophy: the student should be presented with the points of view of representative classical systems. As this method was developed in his teaching at McGill, Murray became more and more interested in the moral and ethical values of the great speculative systems of the past. Such an emphasis led certain of his students during the last decade of the nineteenth century to suppose that he must be a member of the idealistic school. They

<sup>44</sup>Calvin, *Queen's University*, 237.

<sup>45</sup>Cyrus MacMillan, *McGill and Its Story, 1821-1921* (London, 1921), 252.

were perhaps influenced in this direction by his conception of philosophy as "the key which would unlock the secret of life's divine significance." He over-rated Berkeley; and his distaste for empiricism, coupled with the influence of nineteenth-century Hegelian historians of philosophy, caused him to under-estimate Locke and Hume. The greatest emphasis was placed on Aristotle, Spinoza, and Kant, and all advanced students of philosophy at McGill were required to read their works. It is difficult to classify Murray in terms of the conventional schools. He had been trained in theology; and it would seem that he never achieved an entirely satisfactory synthesis of Calvinism, Scottish Common Sense, and German idealism. His final philosophical position is perhaps best described as eclectic idealism. But Sir William Hamilton was never far beneath the surface.

For a philosopher Murray's scientific knowledge was exceptional. His Scottish training had included a thorough grounding in physics, which had been supplemented by further scientific study in Germany. Throughout his life, he kept up with the latest developments in physics and physiology, and this knowledge gave to his teaching of psychology and metaphysics a refreshing concreteness that was lacking in his philosophical contemporaries in Central Canada. At Göttingen and Heidelberg he was also strongly influenced by the new biblical criticism, an influence which confirmed the insight, derived from Spinoza and Kant, that all religious values must be freely examined. Extensive work in psychology enabled him to appreciate also the significance of anthropology and comparative mythology for the study of religious origins. The comment of a student of McGill in the eighteenthies is illuminating in several directions:

He regarded the Bible, as must all who are receptive to the application of historical method, as a fallible product, in which high ethical doctrine is expressed in a very popular form. . . . It was a constant source of surprise to him that a man so authoritative regarding the facts of natural science as Sir William Dawson was, could spend his energies in the attempt to construct a cosmology in which the Books of Genesis and Daniel figured importantly. The Principal did not regard the professor of philosophy, notwithstanding his theological training, as a wholly safe man. He feared the unsettling effect on the students' minds of the Honours Course in that subject, and on one occasion observed that it involved too much reading and made very heavy demands on a student's capacity. On the professor's asking what books he thought might profitably be omitted, Sir William mentioned "Spinoza's Ethic" and "Spencer's First Principles," which he considered for other reasons also were undesirable. Dr. Murray at once perceived the Principal's aim, combated [*sic*] the suggestion, and retained the Ethic in the Honours Course during his professorship.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup>W. H., "Professor J. Clark Murray" (*University Magazine*, XVII, 1918, 564-5).

In spite of an excessive burden of teaching, Murray's influence on the mental and moral outlook of McGill's students (for whom philosophy was a compulsory subject in the ordinary degree course) was probably greater than that of any other professor of his time; certainly none was more beloved of his students. An urbane man, of flaming intelligence, Murray had too exalted a conception of the function of a university to think of higher education either in terms of commercial practice or as a process of adjustment to an existing social environment. "Throughout his courses," one of his students has recorded, "he represented the spirit of criticism, which was then sadly lacking in most branches of teaching in the Faculty of Arts."

His classroom was one of the few places of free discussion and bracing intellectual activity in which one felt, in sharp contrast to the deadening atmosphere of others, that everything was not once and forever fixed and settled in the world. One of his colleagues who desiccated most subjects he touched, and represented a type of rigid and pedantic scientific orthodoxy, tried to make you believe that the atomic theory was part of the constitution of the world. Clark Murray led you to see the difference between a hypothesis and an axiom, and to inquire whether there were axioms at all. He thus performed what must always be one of the chief functions of a stimulator to Philosophy, the arousal of individuals from their dogmatic slumbers as a preparatory step to freeing them from what Kant well terms their "selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit."<sup>47</sup>

Although he toiled single-handed at Queen's and McGill for over forty years, Murray published nine books, some forty articles, a large number of reviews, and occasional verse.<sup>48</sup> Before coming to Canada he had already prepared a number of articles for *Chambers's Encyclopædia*. He was a contributor to influential American technical journals such as the *Philosophical Review*, the *Monist*, and the *Educational Review*. Many of his articles were published, however, in semi-popular British and Canadian magazines. Between 1867 and 1914 he wrote for the *British Quarterly Review*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, the *Scottish Review*, the *Canadian Journal*, the *Canadian Monthly*, the *New Dominion Monthly*, the *University Magazine*, and the *Medical Journal* of Montreal. Not a controversialist like Watson, Murray nevertheless discussed almost as wide a variety of subjects of contemporary interest, including the dualistic conception of nature, atomism and theism, the idealism of Spinoza, Rousseau's place in history, *The Merchant of Venice* as an exponent of industrial ethics, pragmatism, agnosticism, pessimism, dreams, and Helen Keller. His most famous article appeared in the *Open Court* of Chicago in 1895 under the

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 563.

<sup>48</sup>For a bibliography of Murray's writings from 1867 to 1894 see *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, XII, 1894, 61-2.

stimulating title "Can Canada be Coerced into the Union?" After giving a stalwart justification of Canada's place among the nations he answered the question with a resounding "No!"

Of Murray's nine books, one is concerned with Sir William Hamilton, two with ethics, two with psychology, and four with literary themes. His *Outline of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, published at Boston in 1870, is the first technical philosophical book written in Canada. It had been preceded by a series of four articles on Hamilton in the *Canadian Journal* during the years 1866 and 1867. The *Outline* itself was introduced and highly recommended by James McCosh, President of Princeton and leading exponent of the Scottish philosophy in the United States. McCosh and Murray both believed that Hamilton was the greatest metaphysician of his age and that his writings would be studied by all thinking people in future centuries. It was imperative, therefore, that Hamilton's philosophy should be presented in systematic form, and this was the task Murray had set himself. In view of the diffuse, often chaotic, character of Hamilton's writings it is surprising that Murray should have succeeded in presenting such a tightly articulated, and altogether fair, exposition of his system. In 1870 he was still too much under the influence of Hamilton to venture any criticism of the latter's doctrines, but this defect only enhanced the value and influence of the *Outline* in circles where the Scottish philosophy was still generally accepted, and more especially in the United States.

In his *Introduction to Ethics* (1891), Murray's style is seen at its best, clear, vigorous, thought-compelling, on occasion even passionate. At the time of its publication this book was noteworthy in that it was not confined to the exposition of ethical concepts in their abstract generality but considered also the concrete application of moral concepts to the principal spheres of human duty. Its method throughout was strongly influenced by the new historical or evolutionary approach; and the conditions under which the principal moral ideals of humanity had been developed were given extended treatment. "The requirements of the moral ideal in any age," wrote Murray, "can be definitely comprehended only when we come to know how it has been formed, just as the precise meaning of a word is often to be reached only by tracing its history; and even if the obligations of the moral life demand an elevation or modification of the existing ideal, the proposed moral advance can itself be understood only when it is viewed as a continuation of the process through which that ideal

was attained." The *Introduction* was translated into several languages, including Russian. Several years after his retirement, he published *A Handbook of Christian Ethics* (1908), in which the principles developed in his earlier ethical studies were applied to an exposition and philosophical interpretation of Christian ethical ideals. Like Young and Watson, Murray was unalterably opposed to hedonism and utilitarianism, yet he always succeeded in presenting theories with which he differed clearly and honestly.

It was taken for granted until long after Murray's retirement that psychology was a branch of philosophy, and he gave regular lectures in this field during his entire period at McGill. These lectures formed the basis of *A Handbook of Psychology* (1885) and *An Introduction to Psychology* (1904). Both texts were widely used in the United States, the former running through at least five editions in fifteen years. They were eventually displaced, of course, by the writings of William James and his disciples who emphasized a much more physiological and experimental, and a less exclusively analytical, approach to psychology. It is not surprising that Murray's treatment of psychology was not yet freed from epistemological and metaphysical intrusions. But it is remarkable that he should have been so receptive to the scientific material that had become available as an aftermath of the Darwinian biology. His psychology is an interesting blend of Sir William Hamilton and Wilhelm Wundt, the "founder" of experimental psychology. In the later volume the German influence became predominant, and the science of psychology was defined in terms of the conceptual framework laid down by Wundt. Much more extensive use was also made of anthropological material. But to the end the persistent influence of the Scottish School prevented Murray from reaping the fullest harvest of his remarkable alertness to late nineteenth-century movements of thought in science and philosophy.

The sheer philosophical competence of Murray's technical writings tended to obscure his wealth of culture, broad spirituality, and general creativeness of mind. These personal qualities emerged clearly in his more literary works, which include *The Ballads and Songs of Scotland* (1874), naturally the most popular of his books in Canada; a charming *Memoir of David Murray, Late Provost of Paisley* (1881); a translation from the German, with additions and notes, of *Solomon Maimon, an Autobiography* (1888); and a novel, *He That Had Received the Five Talents* (1904). His interest in Jewish culture and philosophy, and in Maimon (a prominent metaphysical contemporary of Kant) in particular, had



been aroused by a reading of *Daniel Deronda*. Maimon's *Autobiography* had become extremely rare, even in Europe, and had never been translated. Murray relates that "amid the dearth of rare literature in Colonial libraries, I certainly never expected to come, in a Canadian town, upon a 'curious and rare book' of last century." While browsing one day in a second-hand book store in Toronto, to his surprise he discovered the rare volume and set to work to translate it. The enthusiastic reception of the translation was partly due to the fresh interest that had recently been awakened in the history of Jewish thought by scholars who were searching for the sources of Spinoza's philosophy. That Maimon was of philosophical importance is evident from Kuno Fischer's *Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie*, which devotes a whole chapter to his life, while the contemporary critics of Kant are dismissed with little or no biographical notice.

Three phases or periods may be clearly distinguished in the development of Central Canadian philosophy during the nineteenth century. First, the Christian world-view was quickly and strongly established as part of the process of colonization. Secondly, the Scottish philosophy of Common Sense as developed by Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, and as modified by Sir William Hamilton, was widely influential during the period from 1850 to 1872. Thirdly, the British Idealism of Edward Caird and T. H. Green became dominant during the last quarter of the century. These phases find a certain parallel in the changing place of philosophy in university instruction between 1840 and 1900. Theology was taught in the universities in the eighteen-forties; but philosophy had to wait a decade or longer before it was officially recognized as a subject *sui generis*—the transition had, however, been completed by 1853.

The pattern of development may be illustrated further by the life histories of the earliest academic philosophers. Beaven, George, and Leach all had distinguished careers as clergymen and as professors of theology (Leach as professor of classics) before becoming professors of philosophy. Men whose primary interest was in theology remained in charge of philosophical instruction at Toronto and McGill until 1871 or 1872, although Queen's had made a change ten years earlier. It was these theological philosophers, as they may not inappropriately be called, who introduced the philosophy of Common Sense, but in actual practice their interpretation of this school must have been strongly influenced by the demands of theology. The replacement of theologians by men

whose primary interest was philosophical, although with the exception of Watson they were still clergymen, marked the transition from Common Sense to idealism. The year 1871-2 may be taken as the crucial date in this transition: within a few months of each other Young was appointed to Toronto, Watson to Queen's, and Murray to McGill. The distinction between the second and third phases cannot, of course, be emphasized too sharply. Murray, although greatly influenced by idealism, remained a dynamic representative of certain doctrines of the Scottish philosophy into the early years of the present century. Watson was the first layman to receive an academic appointment in philosophy, but it was not generally recognized in Central Canada during the nineteenth century that a philosopher need not necessarily be a clergyman.

It is a singular fact that our six earliest philosophers were all men of unusually wide interests and outstanding personal qualities. Apart from remarkable contributions to their respective churches, each of them played a dynamic role in the development of our universities: Beaven was dean of residence; Young was a leader in the reform of secondary education in Ontario, as well as a dominant figure in the councils of his college; George and Leach were among the founders of Queen's; George, Leach, and Watson were distinguished vice-principals of their respective institutions; Murray was a pioneer advocate of higher education for women. Finally, Young, Watson, and Murray were considered the greatest teachers in Toronto, Queen's, and McGill in the nineteenth century: they would probably rank among the great teachers of philosophy of any age or clime.

It is frequently asserted that "professional" scholarship was non-existent in Canadian universities during the nineteenth century. This view is scarcely consistent with the facts as far as philosophy is concerned. It is true that the publications of the three earliest philosophers consisted mainly of sermons or public addresses; but even among this group the writings of Beaven would certainly exceed, in quantity at any rate, the output of most Canadian theological professors at the present time. Of the three later philosophers, Young's contributions to mathematics are not unimposing. Murray and Watson must be numbered, of course, among the more prolific writers of technical philosophical books and articles in learned and semi-popular journals in any country during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their professional contributions to philosophy were probably superior to, and certain-

ly the equal of, anything that was being produced at such leading American universities as Columbia, Yale, or Princeton between 1870 and 1900, or even at Harvard before the advent of William James and Josiah Royce. In fact only a few philosophers even in twentieth-century America, which has replaced Germany as the home of professional scholarship, could match the productivity of Murray and Watson either in quality or in quantity. Our philosophers also took the lead in promoting the scholarly activities and researches of the Royal Society of Canada from its foundation in 1882 by the Duke of Argyll: all three were charter members; Murray was secretary and president, and Watson president, of Section II. These men lacked, of course, the facilities which the great graduate schools of our century provide for the systematic indoctrination of the rising generation.

The personal and scholarly distinction of our nineteenth-century philosophers was bought with a price. Philosophically, Central Canada was a colony of Scotland. It is not without historical significance that five of the six men whose careers we have discussed should have been educated at Glasgow or Edinburgh, and that four of these should have been influenced so profoundly by Sir William Hamilton, the fifth by Edward Caird. Neither Common Sense nor idealism, as it turned out, held the key to the future. The not very illuminating Hamiltonian philosophy scarcely survived the onslaught John Stuart Mill made upon it in 1865. Idealism, which replaced Common Sense, had a breadth, an authority, and a speculative insight into ultimate reality unrivalled by any subsequent system. But it gradually became clear in Europe and the United States, if not in Canada, that idealism could perform its distinctive philosophical function only from the standpoint and in the name of a reality transcending all human and temporal limitations. As the nineteenth century drew to a close the realistic logicians and analysts of Cambridge began to forge the intellectual weapons which were to lead to the denigration of idealism during the first quarter of the twentieth century, and to its eventual replacement by realism or logical positivism even at Oxford, its classical British home. But the great Scottish tradition of the nineteenth century still remained so dominant in certain Canadian universities at the mid-twentieth century that the new creative philosophical movements of Europe and the United States appeared only as vague rumours.

Throughout the nineteenth century, philosophy in Central Canada was the shield of religion: our theologians advanced into

battle armed first with the slogans of Common Sense, later of idealism. It is perhaps a unique feature of Canadian philosophical discussion between 1850 and 1900 that its problems, in so far as they were indigenous, should have been so greatly stimulated by the impact of biblical criticism. Young, Murray, and Watson were keenly interested in securing support for the new approach to the Scriptures. They were equally prepared to demonstrate that idealism was designed to transform Christianity into a kind of rational faith. Thus philosophy tended to mirror those movements, and only those movements, that could be used to secure rational support for religion: Common Sense; Kant and German romanticism; the idealism of Green and Caird. All other tendencies, but more especially empiricism, positivism, utilitarianism, and evolutionary naturalism, as represented in the writings of Bentham, Comte, J. S. Mill, and Spencer, were continually subjected to relentless criticism in the universities.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that idealistic philosophy had a stultifying or repressive influence upon the Canadian community. Given the sociocultural resources of the period, it could be maintained that idealism had a liberating effect, more especially upon religious institutions. As there was no road back from historical criticism, it seemed to our philosophers that religion simply had to be given a rational justification in terms of idealism. Surely such an attitude was infinitely preferable to the only alternative—short of a complete abandonment of religion—at that time, the advocacy of a mere return to authority and tradition. Nor should it be forgotten that these idealistic philosophers had, from the popular point of view, travelled far along the road to heterodoxy—of them all, John Clark Murray was undoubtedly the most disillusioned, the most disenchanted. In our century the gulf between philosophy and religion has constantly grown wider and wider, so that it has become increasingly difficult for the younger generation to appreciate Watson's belief that even ultimate issues can be reasonably and philosophically discussed.

On the other hand it must be admitted that their constant preoccupation with religious problems tended to blind our philosophers to the creative possibilities inherent in nineteenth-century scientific developments. This weakness was nowhere more apparent than in their attitude to the theory of evolution. Young, Murray, and Watson would always protest that they were prepared to accept the theory of evolution as a scientific explanation of the origin of life. But for all their acceptance, the theory remained a

dangerous one that might at any moment threaten their most cherished religious or philosophical beliefs. It must therefore be contained within idealistic metaphysics. Evolution had application only within the restricted domain of scientific methodology; its philosophical implications, as developed by Herbert Spencer, must be assiduously refuted. The idealistic attitude to evolution was symbolic of the static role that philosophy was destined to play in the uncertain Canadian civilization of the twentieth century.

If the year 1871-2 was a crucial date in Canadian philosophy, in that it marked the appointments of Young, Watson, and Murray to Toronto, Queen's, and McGill, it was an equally significant date, though in quite a different sense, in the development of American philosophy. At that period the "Metaphysical Club," as it was called by C. S. Peirce, was meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for the interchange of scientific and philosophical ideas. Its members were composed of two groups, one trained in the natural sciences (Chauncey Wright, Peirce, and William James), the other in historical and legal studies (John Fiske, Nicholas St. John Green, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and Joseph B. Warner). But whatever their training or interests, these men were animated in their discussions by a common desire to apply the theory of evolution constructively and creatively to those problems which philosophers had treated in terms of absolute principles. It was in this club, as Peirce has recorded, that "the name and doctrine of pragmatism saw the light." The pragmatic attitude to evolution was symbolic of the dynamic role that philosophy was destined to play in the ascending American civilization of the twentieth century. Philosophically, the Canadians remained children of Europe, but the Americans created a new world.

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## AN UPPER CANADA LETTER OF 1829 ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

ON Wednesday, October 14, 1829, the anonymous letter reprinted below occupied a prominent position on the first page of the *Upper Canada Herald*, a weekly newspaper published at Kingston.<sup>1</sup> It is of cardinal importance to the development of political thought in the colony for at least three reasons. As one of the clearest enunciations in the pre-rebellion period of the new theory of responsible government, it shows the degree of maturity this doctrine had attained before either the English Reform Bill or the formation of the Whig ministry of 1830. Further, it faces the crucial problem of reconciling local responsibility with the imperial connexion, and emerges with a closely reasoned and logical solution. Finally, the letter affords a striking example, from the many that might be cited, of the continuing influence upon colonial constitutional thought of Blackstone's *Commentaries*.

In the evolution of responsible government, prominence has been rightly given to the contributions of William Warren Baldwin and his son, Robert Baldwin. They directed their efforts to the imperial authorities, from whom results might have been obtained. But whether prompted by natural moderation of temperament, or mindful of the official destination of their correspondence, they spoke softly in urging their views. At all times they would have left considerable discretion to the lieutenant-governor in changing the ministry. The letter of 1829, addressed to a sympathetic public in the colony, shows none of this constitutional conservatism, and postulates a direct dependence of the executive upon the legislature. The radical principle to be established is one of automatic resignation upon loss of majority. Such doctrine was as yet far from acceptable even in Britain, as constitutional practice of the time clearly shows.

After the publication of this letter, the theory of executive responsibility can be considered fully mature in Upper Canada. No basic refinements were to occur until the first steps had been taken in applying the principle. Indeed, Robert Baldwin's well-known letter to Glenelg in 1836, although more specific in its explanation, went beyond the position of 1829 only in meeting certain objections raised against the theory. If in 1836 Baldwin relied more upon analogy, perhaps it was because the principle could be seen more clearly in British politics after the changes of 1832. But the doctrine had been expressed fully and explicitly in

<sup>1</sup>A file for the period is in the Public Record Office, C.O. 47/56.

Upper Canada in the years 1828 and 1829; from that time it became a constant feature of the Reformers' programme, even if it was not generally understood by the average voter.

To advocate responsible government was merely to clarify what had been said before, but the consideration of its bearing upon the nature of imperial unity broke relatively new ground. The writer of the letter quotes the tract to show that self-government is such an integral right of British subjects that restrictions on it are justifiable only when absolutely necessary to the preservation of the empire. On this basis the power of the imperial parliament to legislate for a colony is confined to trade regulation and defence. To give force to this limitation the Constitutional Act of 1791 is given the highly novel interpretation of a treaty, a form of social compact made in a state of nature, the colonists on their side still apparently lacking any of the institutions of organized civil society.

Following Blackstone's separation of legislative and executive functions, the tract then proceeds to the position of the colonial governor, who represents "not the *person* of the King, but the Imperial Government." The interests of the mother country in the colony are protected by his accountability to the home government. The colonists have no remedy against the governor, but are protected by their power to punish the advisers he requires. These provincial advisers are to be answerable to the provincial legislature just as in Britain ministers must answer to Parliament for their advice to the king. Thus for the first time the double responsibility of the colonial executive to the imperial government and to the colony is clearly recognized and resolved. Blackstone's concept of responsibility had meant liability to impeachment, chiefly for such offences as advising unconstitutional use of the prerogative. The "proposal" of the tract harmonized this with contemporary conditions by requiring the continued confidence of the assembly.

The significance of this solution of the conflict between imperial and local responsibility lies in the implied rejection of an omnipotent imperial parliament. A decade before Lord John Russell's insistence upon the overriding sovereignty of the mother country, his view, widely held at the time, was anticipated by a clear colonial answer. The power to make laws, which Blackstone had thought to be the central attribute of sovereignty,<sup>2</sup> was boldly

<sup>2</sup>*Commentaries on the Laws of England* (4 vols., London, 1783), I, 49. "By the sovereign power . . . is meant the making of laws; for wherever that power resides, all others must conform to and be directed by it, whatever appearance the outward form and administration of the government may put on."



divided into a limited imperial sphere and a large residuary provincial sphere. The extreme Austinian concept of sovereignty was as yet little known. The exercise of executive power is still fundamentally unitary. It was not illogical, in a system still thoroughly grounded upon checks and balances, to establish a single executive in which the colonial and imperial elements would each combat encroachments by the other.

The influence of Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* upon this letter is most marked. The rights listed in the first chapter of the tract follow closely those of Blackstone's first chapter, the only addition being the second "auxiliary" right limiting the power of the imperial parliament. In addition to the prohibition of taxation without consent, the subject's "right to abide in his own country so long as he pleases" is also a direct quotation,<sup>3</sup> as is "the King cannot misuse his power without the advice of evil councillors, and the assistance of wicked ministers."<sup>4</sup> However the writer fails to cite Blackstone where he does not support the argument. No mention is made, for example, of such restraints upon the colonies as "the general superintending power of the legislature in the mother-country."<sup>5</sup>

The authorship of the letter and of the tract remains a double mystery. The doctrines expressed are not identical with those of the Baldwins, but similarities of ideas and phrasing clearly suggest some connexion with the Baldwin circle. Either "X" or the author of the tract or both may also have been personally known to H. C. Thomson, publisher of the *Upper Canada Herald*, who was a member of the Assembly with reform sympathies. Probably the entire circle of leading reformers were to some extent known to one another through the Assembly and the legal profession. One specific connecting link with the Baldwin group and their efforts is that "X" appears to have been led to write the letter as a result of the Duke of Wellington's speech of May 14, 1829, when the petition from Upper Canada was presented in Parliament. On that occasion Dr. Baldwin's ideas were debated in both houses, and bluntly rejected by the prime minister, who could see no reason for departures from the existing system of colonial government. When the speech was reported in the *Herald* on June 24, it evoked quite a storm of protest, which lasted for some time. Only this background of profound unrest during the summer of 1829 can reveal the depth of bitter irony behind the reference to "conciliatory doctrines."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 108.

It seems highly unlikely that the tract and the letter are from the same pen. To support this view, the irony and sarcasm of the letter contrast sharply with the pedestrian legal exposition of the quoted passages. Besides, "X" could have little to gain from reviewing a tract of his own; a direct presentation would have been more effective. In all probability the tract was set down in manuscript not long before 1829. Certainly the extracts selected for publication bear directly upon issues then current. Yet it is difficult to rule out the bare possibility that it dates from the political stirrings before 1812, as the letter suggests. If so, it would be a remarkable contribution indeed. But no amount of speculation will lead to certainty, and unless more definite evidence comes to light, the letter and the tract, as the unknown correspondent predicted in 1829, are likely to remain something "for the future antiquarians of our country to dispute upon."

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#### FOR THE UPPER CANADA HERALD

MR. EDITOR, Rummaging the other day among some old papers, I accidentally met with a small tract which, though it has no date, I imagine from the company in which I found it must have been written about the period at which the disputes occurred between Mr. Justice Thorpe and the provincial Government.—The futility of the opinions which the writer upholds, has it is true, been *most satisfactorily* and *ably* demonstrated by the *Great Captain of the age*.<sup>1</sup> This however is with me a principal reason for laying it before the public. For I feel great apprehension, lest in the *Golden Age*, which is about to commence in U. C. under the auspices of His Grace, who has already sent us the *new appointments*,<sup>2</sup> as harbingers of his universal peace, all recollection of what were once supposed to have been our rights, may be entirely lost, unless some outline of them be previously committed to print.—Now such a loss although of no moment to the politician, for who could be so absurd as to wish to see such principles of liberty predominant, in preference

<sup>1</sup>That is, the Duke of Wellington, who had long been a target for criticism in the *Upper Canada Herald* on account of his ultra-tory views. Canning's death in 1827 had been much regretted, as opening the way for the replacement of the moderates of the Canning ministry by Wellington's reactionary friends. The worst rumours were confirmed when the new ministry was announced in the *Herald* on March 25, 1828, with the comment: "It is high tory enough to have suited the old cavalier, Sir Henry Lee." The issue of July 30 suggested that Huskisson's resignation was provoked by Wellington's overbearing disposition, and noted the consequent reinforcement of the ultras.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. the *Upper Canada Herald*, July 22, 1829. "The Judicial appointments for Upper Canada, have at length been confirmed, viz. *John Beverly Robinson*, Attorney General, to be Chief Justice—*James Buchanan Macaulay* Barrister and Executive Counsellor, to be a Puisne Judge—*Henry John Boulton*, Solicitor General, to be Attorney General; and *Christopher Alexander Hagerman*, Barrister, to be Solicitor, General [*sic*]."

to the *conciliatory* doctrines of H. G.<sup>28</sup> will hereafter be of very serious importance to that class of people, who delight to pry into the history and institutions of former times. And as this little work contains some of the delusions under which we have been labouring, & points out the sources from whence they originally sprung, as *Magna Charta*, the *Bill of Rights* &c. &c. &c. I think a few extracts by way of *Review* will, when safely deposited in your columns, preserve if not a complete view of those delusions, at least sufficient for the future antiquarians of our country to dispute upon. The work is entitled, "Analysis of the U. Canadian Constitution, or a brief view of the *rights of persons* in U. C., being an adaption of the 1st book of Blackstones Commentaries to the circumstances of the U. Canadians.—To which is added a proposal for a change in the practical administration of affairs required by the spirit of the Constitution itself, and *absolutely necessary* for the preservation of British Connection—by Canadiensis."

The Introduction is devoted to a short view of the British Empire, as regards its political government, and the following positions are laid down and enforced.

"1st. That the Government of the British Empire is constitutionally lodged in the Imperial Parliament, *conjointly* with the several Colonial Parliaments throughout the Empire.

"2d. That the relative situation of a British Colony with regard to the Empire, is that of a state of *dependency* for *mutual benefit*, and not that of a state of *vassalage* for the *separate benefit* of the United Kingdom."

"3d. That the several Colonial Parliaments are not the *mere gifts* of the Imperial Parliament, or of the King to the respective Colonies, but a part of those *rights* to which as *British subjects* the Colonists were *entitled*, and which the Imperial Parliament, nor the King, could constitutionally *withhold from them*."

"4th. That the several Colonial *Executive Governments* are not *Vice Royalities*, as would be the case were the Colonies merely connected with the Empire, by means of the *person of the King*, as was the case with Ireland before the Union—but they are *Vicegerencies*, the *Vicegerent* (Governor) representing not the *person* of the King, but the Imperial Government of the Empire in the Colony."

"5th. That such *special powers of government* as are vested in the Imperial Parliament, are so vested in them by the common Law of the Empire, not for their

<sup>28</sup>Wellington's "conciliatory doctrines" speech of May 14, 1829, was a thoroughly complacent defence of the status quo in colonial policy. Goderich introduced the Upper Canada petition in the Lords, urging certain reforms. Wellington, replying for the Government, agreed with Goderich "in the view he took of the importance of the Colonies, and of the necessity of conciliating their interests by every measure which is practicable on the part of the government and Parliament.—Having seen the petition, however—having moreover a copy of it in his hands for several days, which had been presented to his Majesty—he must say that he saw little in the petition which could be adopted. . . ." Executive responsibility was at present unsuited to "a distant Colony, situated on a foreign frontier"; the present method of petitioning His Majesty for redress of grievances was adequate. "With respect to the Executive Council being an emanation of the Legislative Council and advising the Government, he must observe, that many members of that House voted on measures on which they afterwards, as members of the Executive Administration, advised the Sovereign, and he did not know that any inconvenience had arisen from this mode of managing affairs. The petitioners had mentioned one instance of two members of the Legislature who had been induced by the Governor to vote for a measure in Parliament they were disposed to vote against, but the executive Council recommended the Governor to propose the measure to the Legislative Council. Such an event might have happened here. [Hear, hear.] As to what the Noble Lord said about the petition receiving the attention of his Majesty's government, he must say that there was nothing in it which required further remark." (In giving this version the *Herald* of June 24, 1829, was quoting from the *Albion*. The Hansard report covers substantially the same ideas, but the wording is seldom identical.)

own immediate benefit, but for the safety and benefit of the whole Empire; and that therefore the Imperial Parliament cannot itself, confer upon any particular Colony, any of those powers so vested in itself, without the concurrence of every other Parliament in the Empire."

In the first chapter are considered the absolute rights of individuals in U. C. in their subdivisions of primary and auxiliary rights; the former being

- 1st. The right of personal security,
- 2d. The right of personal liberty and
- 3d. The right of property:—and the latter

- 1st. The Constitution, powers and privileges of the Provincial Parliament,
- 2d. The limitation of the maternal power of the Imperial Parliament,
- 3d. The limitation of the King's Prerogative.
- 4th. The right of applying to the Courts of Justice for redress of injuries,
- 5th. The right of petitioning the King and the several houses of the Imperial and Provincial Parliament for the redress of grievances, and
- 6th. The right of having arms for their defence.

In treating of which the author does not fail to dwell with particular earnestness on the doctrine of Mr. Justice Blackstone, 1 Com. 140; (before the Speech of His Grace arrived among us considered of much moment to the Colonies viz): "That no *subject of England* can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the *defence* of the realm or the *support* of Government, but such as are imposed by *his own* consent, or that of *his representative* in Parliament," and he proceeds to explain that the constitutional power of the Imperial Parliament to impose duties for the *regulation of Commerce* involves no violation of this principle, as in that case the duty imposed is added to the price of the article, and as the subject may either buy or not at his pleasure, when he does pay the duty he pays it by his *own consent*. One circumstance, however, struck me very forcibly in reading this chapter, and that was the great length at which the right of petitioning for redress of grievances is treated of, and the minuteness with which it is examined, as if it was a right upon the existence of which any doubt could reasonably be entertained.

In treating of the Imperial Parliament our author confines his attention to the consideration of those points, upon which that august body holds the *Constitutional power* to legislate for U. C.

"Self government being the first principle of every free Constitution, nothing short of *absolute necessity* can be a sufficient excuse for a violation of it. As therefore the people of U. C. are represented in the Provincial, not in the Imperial Parliament, it follows that in the former must be vested the *powers of Government generally*, and in the latter only those *special powers of Government* which for the *preservation* of the *safety and integrity* of the Empire at large, it is absolutely necessary to have lodged in the hands of *one body only* for the whole Empire. "And this principle," says our author, "is neither new to the constitution, nor by any means difficult of application, being precisely the same upon which many of the Royal prerogatives themselves are founded." "And so *exclusively*," says he, "is *necessity* the principle upon which this interference of the Imperial Parliament is grounded, that that body cannot go one step beyond what such *necessity* will justify. Thus they may pass an act imposing duties for the *regulation of Commerce*, but here they must stop—they cannot appropriate one shilling of the duty when collected and why? because the safety of the Empire does not require that *they* should appropriate it. It belongs to the people who have paid it and must be appropriated by *their* representatives."

Upon this Rule he limits the power of Interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament to two particulars viz: the power of legislation.

"1st. For the regulation of Commerce and navigation, and

"2d. For the defence of the Empire by authorizing a standing army to be kept on foot within the Province in time of peace."

The former he remarks is mentioned in 31 Geo. 3 chap. 31, but he asserts that this is merely declaratory of what is the common Law of the Empire.

"Any Act of the Imperial Parliament assuming to legislate upon any other points for U. C. is void as much so as if passed by the Parliament of Jamaica, or any other Parliament in the Empire—and any Judge attempting to enforce it, would unquestionably render himself liable to impeachment, just as much as if he attempted to enforce the dispensing power of the King, or the pretended prerogative of levying ship money."

Of the Provincial Parliament, he gives a detailed account after the manner of Blackstone, entering at length upon the consideration of 31. Geo. 3. Chap. 31, and treating it as a *treaty* between the Mother Country and U. C. by which the mode and manner of exercising the *Constitutional rights* is mutually settled, in the way of Convention, by the Colonists on the one hand and Imperial Parliament on the other.

Having thus disposed of the Supreme Legislative powers of Government, he appropriates his 3. Chap. to the consideration of the Supreme Executive Powers.

"This as vested in the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland consists," says our author, "of two branches, the one the *Imperial* the other the *Provincial*: the former exercised by the Sovereign *himself* at the seat of Empire, the latter by his *Viceroy* in the Province. To the former belongs the conduct of all the national affairs of the Empire, whether foreign or domestic, to the latter the management of all the Provincial affairs of the Colony whether internal, inter-imperial, or intercolonial." "And not only is the local Executive power *actually* exercised, by a *Viceroy*, but constitutionally it must be *so exercised*, in so much that were the Sovereign to come *personally into the Province* he could exercise no one act of provincial executive power except through his Viceroy.—And this case is put, not from its being likely ever to happen, but to show more distinctly how the *principle of practical responsibility* pervades the whole government of the British Empire." This practical responsibility of those in whose hands the Executive Government is placed is an essential part of that constitution. We shall therefore find that no act of Executive Government can be performed in the British Empire without those *who may be injured* thereby, having a *constitutional right* to call some persons to account for it."

A little further on he says, "Another principle of British liberty is, that every British subject has an *absolute right* to abide in *his own country* so long as he pleases.—Had the Sovereign therefore the power of going to a Colony, and managing the Executive Government of it through his *Colonial* servants, as *those servants* could never be legally taken out of the Colony, to be called to account in England for their advice the Empire at large might be seriously injured by the mismanagement of the colonial Government, and have no person whom *they* could make answerable for such mismanagement, and the Provincial Parliament might not be very prompt in punishing a delinquency which might consist perhaps chiefly in an undue regard to the separate interests of a particular province.—The constitution of the British Empire has therefore wisely provided that there should be over every Provincial Government a Vice Gerent *sent from* England to the Province, and who therefore can legally be brought back to England to answer for his conduct, being in such

case not sent out of his own country but merely brought back to it, to answer for the trust committed to him. "This therefore," says our author, "is the principle upon which the Sovereign is precluded from exercising his provincial Executive power except through a Vice Gerent—and thus are the interests of the Empire preserved in the administration of the Provincial Governments. This personal responsibility of the Vice Gerent to the Imperial Government in England, for the acts of the Provincial Government, is however quite inadequate to protect the interests of the Colonists. While therefore it is open to the Province to pursue a Governor in England, they have those whom they can pursue in the Colony for every act of the Provincial Government—for as the King cannot misuse his power without the advice of evil councillors, and the assistance of wicked ministers, who may be examined and punished by the Imperial Parliament so his Vice Gerent in U. C. cannot misuse the power delegated to him from the King, without the advice of evil councillors and wicked Ministers, who may be examined and punished by the Provincial Parliament in the province. The Vice Gerent is in fact delegated to perform the Kingly duties in the Province—he is therefore under the same Constitutional necessity of acting through the Agency of public Provincial servants in the Province, as the Sovereign is of acting through the Agency of public Servants in England—and as such servants are in England, answerable to the Parliament there so are such servants as occupy similar situations answerable in U. C. to the Parliament here. The U. Canadians being the people liable to be injured, to them must those public servants be responsible. The Vice Gerent cannot be punished in the Province, for he has the absolute Constitutional power of putting a stop to any impeachment or enquiry here by the prorogation, or dissolution of the Provincial Parliament. His advisers therefore are responsible, and may be made to answer with their heads for the conduct of the Provincial Government. Thus no Vice Gerent can be appointed but by the King, and no provincial officer but by His Majesty, through such Vice Gerent: the Interests of the Imperial Government are protected by the responsibility of the Vice Gerent to the Imperial Parliament, and the Interests of the Province by the responsibility of the provincial advisers of such Vice Gerent to the Provincial Parliament."

In treating of the Provincial Councils belonging to the King, our author describes the Executive Council as "*a Provincial Privy Council*" to every intent and purpose whatsoever—asserting that whatever may be the "practice" as to the appointment of the members of this Council in U. C. there can be no doubt but that the mere nomination by the King *this*<sup>4</sup> his Vice Gerent is sufficient without either patent or Grant—and that the duties and responsibility of an Executive Councillor in U. C. are the same as those of a Privy Councillor in England—and he particularly insists upon the necessity of that clause of the act of settlement, whereby Privy Councillors are required to sign the advice they give being strictly enforced in U. C. as it affords the most satisfactory evidence against delinquents when called to an account for their evil administration.

In considering the Royal prerogatives our author remarks that "as there is no Established Church of course the King cannot be at the head of it." He admits that he is the head of the "*Church of England*" in U. C. but merely as he would be in France, and *that Church* exist in that part of Europe.

I could make many more interesting extracts from the work before me, but I must not trespass upon you too far. I shall therefore proceed to our authors "proposal."

<sup>4</sup>For "this" read "through."

<sup>5</sup>Did.

In this, after pointing out the absurdity of having the *Provincial Ministry* sometimes in Parliament and sometimes out of it; of having the duties similar to those performed by a Secretary of state in England performed by a *private Secretary of a Lieut. Governor*, utterly unknown to the country and equally ignorant of it, and without one particle of political influence among the people, and demonstrating the necessity of a change, the author proceeds to suggest that the administration of the Provincial Government under the Vice Gerent or the Governor, be divided among 7 heads of departments, one of whom to fill the place of "Provincial Premier" or head of the Provincial Administration—and which 7 heads of departments should be all Executive Councillors and ex officio form "the Cabinet" of the Governor. He also proposes that they should all be in one house or the other of the Provincial Parliament as the Imperial Ministers are in England. He proposes that those 7 heads of departments should be—

1. "A Treasurer," who should as such be at the head of the Provincial Administration; should sign all warrants for money on the Receiver General; instead of their being signed, as at present, by the Governor;—which the author treats as highly unconstitutional, such practice bearing no person responsible to the *Provincial Parliament* for the improper application of public money.

2. "A Secretary to the Treasury" to be always a member of the Lower House of the Provincial Parliament and to perform similar duties in U. C. to those performed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England.

3. "A Provincial Secretary for Home affairs," that is for the management of all the affairs of U. C. with the mother country and our sister colonies.

4. "A Provincial Secretary for Internal affairs," that is for the performance of all duties similar to those of the Secretary for the Home Department in England.

5. "The Attorney General," to supply the place in Council of the Chief Justice, whose connexion with the Executive Council of the Province our author treats with great severity.

6. "A President of the Council," to be always a member of the Upper House of the Provincial Parliament—And

7. "The Speaker of the Legislative Council."

Such an arrangement of a Provincial Administration our author thinks would be highly beneficial to the Province, provided the salaries of the several officers were low "*in proportion*" to the "*means of the Colony*," and the "*principle thoroughly established*" that "*resignation of office must follow the loss of Parliamentary majority*."

I shall conclude with one more quotation.

"At present public offices in U. C. are merely sources of *Patronage*; under such a system as is above proposed those in whom the *people* placed confidence would be as they ought to be at the head of provincial affairs. The interests of the Executive and of the People would then be the same, and the people, seeing that when *they* withdrew *their* support from public men power fell from their hands, would cease to look upon the Executive as an enemy. The administration of Government would be vigorous, for whatever were the measures of the *administration* would have the support of the people, as *no* administration whose measures were *disapproved* could remain a week in office. And then would U. C. have what she can never have *in effect* without it," *The British Constitution*.

I am Mr. Editor

Your obedient Serv't X.



## GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its twenty-third annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from a large number of universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

### Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- EARL V. AKIN, B.A. California 1948; M.A. 1949. The Catholic borderlands. *California* (Berkeley).
- MARION ELIZABETH ARTHUR, B.A. Toronto 1942; M.A. McGill 1947; Ph.D. 1949. The French Canadians under British rule, 1760-1800. *McGill*.
- B. D. BARGAR, B.A. Miami 1946; M.A. Ohio State 1947. The administration of Lord Dartmouth in the American Department, 1772-1775. *Toronto*.
- R. N. BEATTIE, B.A. British Columbia 1939; M.A. Toronto 1946. The Grand Trunk Railway to 1867. *Toronto*.
- J. M. BECK, B.A. Acadia 1934; M.A. 1938; M.A. Toronto 1947. Government of Nova Scotia. *Toronto*.
- HAROLD WATSON BOON, A.B. Houghton 1936; A.M. New York 1938; Ph.D. 1950. The development of the bible college or institute in the United States and Canada since 1880 and its relationship in the field of theological education in America. *New York*.
- HARVEY E. BRAZER, B. Com. McGill 1943; A.M. Columbia 1947. Coordination in Canadian federal finance. *Columbia*.
- IRVING BRECHER, B.A. McGill 1943; A.M. Harvard 1947. The evolution of economic thought and policy in Canada, 1919-1939. *Harvard*.
- IDA BRIM, Herman Merivale and British colonial policy. *Columbia*.
- JAMES M. S. CARELESS, B.A. Toronto 1940; A.M. Harvard 1941; Ph.D. 1950. George Brown and the *Toronto Globe*, 1850-1867: A study in opinion. *Harvard*.
- A. E. CARLSEN, B.A. British Columbia 1946; M.A. Toronto 1949. Developments in Canadian fiscal policy since 1932. *Toronto*.
- SYLVIA L. CARLTON, B.A. Hunter 1936; M.S. Columbia 1938. Egerton Ryerson and education in Ontario, 1844-1877. *Pennsylvania*.
- JAMES B. CONACHER, B.A. Queen's 1938; M.A. 1939; Ph.D. Harvard 1949. Canadian participation in the Sicilian campaign, 1943: The role of the first Canadian infantry division. *Harvard*.
- WALTER F. CONGDON, Policy and practice: British colonial administration. *Wisconsin*.
- P. G. CORNELL, B.A. Toronto 1940; M.A. 1948. The alignment of political parties in the united province of Canada. *Toronto*.
- HARRY S. CROWE, The state and economic life in Canada. *Columbia*.
- J. S. CUDMORE, B.A. Toronto 1938; M.A. 1939. The development of health insurance and public medical care schemes in Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. *Toronto*.
- HERBERT N. DRENNON, B.S. Mississippi State 1941; A.M. Vanderbilt 1942. The industrial relations policy of the Canadian Dominion government. *Duke*.

- FRANCIS DUNCAN, B.A. Ohio Wesleyan 1943; M.A. Chicago 1947. History of the Goodrich Lake Transportation Company. *Chicago*.
- STANLEY W. DZIUBAN, B.S. West Point 1939; A.M. Columbia 1949. United States-Canadian military cooperation. *Columbia*.
- WALTER D. R. ELTON, The effect of American investment on the structure of Canadian manufacturing since 1914. *Harvard*.
- JEAN-CHARLES FALARDEAU, L.Ph., L. Soc. Sci. Laval 1941. Sociological study of a French-Canadian urban parish. *Chicago*.
- R. BARRY FARRELL, B.A. Queen's 1947; M.A. Harvard 1948. The planning and development of foreign policy in Canada with significant American and British contrasts. *Harvard*.
- HOWARD A. FLEMING, B.A. California 1947. The Canadian Northern Railway. *California* (Los Angeles).
- G. S. FRENCH, B.A. Toronto 1944; M.A. 1947. Methodism and politics in Canada in the nineteenth century. *Toronto*.
- JOHN GARNER, B.A. Toronto 1942; M.A. 1948. Dominion franchise. *Toronto*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe*.
- WARREN GATES, British regulation of the colonial timber trade. *Pennsylvania*.
- ALEC R. GILPIN, General William Hull and the war on the Detroit in 1812. *Michigan*.
- SIMON A. GOLDBERG, B.A. McGill 1939; M.A. 1940; A.M. Harvard 1942. Institutional savings and investments in Canada, with special reference to life insurance. *Harvard*.
- W. R. GRAHAM, B.A. Manitoba 1941; M.A. Toronto 1945. Sir Richard Cartwright. *Toronto*.
- ANGELA A. HANNAN, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1925. David Mills. *Toronto*.
- GHISLAIN HARDY, L.Sc. Pol. Paris. Le rôle des traités dans la politique commerciale du Canada (1923-1939). *Ottawa*.
- PAUL G. HASTINGS, A.B. Pennsylvania 1939; M.B.A. Oberlin 1947. A Canada-United States customs union. *Pennsylvania*.
- WILLIAM EDWARD HAVILAND, B.A. McMaster 1945; M.A. Toronto 1946; A.M. Harvard 1950. The economics of tobacco farming in Ontario. *Harvard*.
- MARGARET LILLIAN HOCKIN, A study of the process of acculturation as revealed in Canadian Japanese family life. *Cornell*.
- W. E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- ORVILLE J. JAECKER, A.B. Concordia 1944; M.A. Indiana 1949. The life of Henry Hamilton. *Indiana*.
- LOUIS C. JAMES, LL.B. Virginia 1931; B.S. 1945; A.M. Columbia 1948. Relations of the North American railroads: A study in international cooperation of the railroads of Canada, Mexico, and the United States. *Columbia*.
- RAYMOND CASIMIR JANCAUSKAS, A.B. Loyola 1936; M.A. St. Louis 1940. Analysis of recent major Canadian investments. *Columbia*.
- PAULINE JEWETT, B.A. Queen's 1944; M.A. 1945; Ph.D. Radcliffe 1950. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board: A case study in Canadian public administration. *Radcliffe*.
- HAROLD P. JOHNS, B.A. British Columbia; M.A.; Ph.D. Ottawa 1950. Curriculum planning and guidance services in British Columbia. *Ottawa*.
- CAREY B. JOYNT, B.A. Western Ontario 1945; M.A. 1948. The foreign policy of Mr. Mackenzie King. *Clark*.
- J. A. KEDDY, B.A. Acadia 1933; B.Paed. Toronto 1948; D.Paed. 1950. Selection of candidates for entrance to the Ontario College of Education. *Toronto*.
- WILTON P. LEDET, A.B. Tulane 1936; A.M. 1937. History of the Acadians. *Chicago*.
- GERMAINE LESAGE, O.M.I., D.Ph. Ottawa; D.Th.; D.Litt. 1950. L'évêque errant, Mgr Ovide Charlebois, O.M.I. *Ottawa*.
- HELEN G. LEWIS, Newfoundland, 1855-1933. *Columbia*.
- A. D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. The administration and development of Ontario under Sir James Whitney. *Toronto*.
- W. A. MCKAY, B.A. Manitoba 1944; M.A. Toronto 1949. History of the R.C.A.M.C. in north-west Europe, 1944-1945. *Toronto*.
- F. P. T. MACKINNON, B.A. McGill 1941; M.A. Toronto 1942; Ph.D. 1950. The government of Prince Edward Island. *Toronto*.
- K. A. MACKIRDY, B.A. British Columbia 1947; M.A. 1948. Regionalism: Canada and Australia. *Toronto*.
- JOHN MCKNIGHT, B.S.S. College of the City of New York 1939; A.M. Columbia 1947.

- United States-Canadian trade, 1932-1938: A study in the income and expenditure approach to the theory of international trade. *Columbia*.
- K. W. K. MCNAUGHT, B.A. Toronto 1941; M.A. 1947; Ph.D. 1950. James Shaver Woodsworth: From social gospel to social democracy, 1874-1921. *Toronto*.
- D. MCQUAT, B.A. Bishop's 1939; M.A. McGill 1948. John Neilson of Lower Canada. *McGill*.
- EDWARD MARCUS, B.S. Harvard 1939; M.B.A. 1941; A.M. Princeton 1948; Ph.D. 1950. Economic fluctuations in Canada, 1927-1939. *Princeton*.
- W. D. EDISON MATTHEWS, B.A. Western Ontario 1938; B.Paed. Toronto 1942; D.Paed. 1950. The history of the religious factors in Ontario elementary education. *Toronto*.
- I. FRANK MOGAVERO, Ph.D. Ottawa 1950. Peter B. Porter, citizen and statesman. *Ottawa*.
- TAIT MONTAGUE, B.A. Western Ontario 1942; M.A. Toronto 1946. Trade unionism in the meat packing industry. *Toronto*.
- FREDERIC PATRIC MORRISSEY, B.Com. Toronto 1943; M.Com. 1946. Economic study of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. *Columbia*.
- J. F. NORTHEY, LL.B. Victoria 1942; LL.M. 1943; B.A. Auckland 1947. The office of governor-general: An appreciation of the significance of that office in New Zealand. *Toronto*.
- JOSEPHINE F. PACHECO, B.A. Richmond 1941; M.A. Chicago 1943; Ph.D. 1950. French propaganda in America, 1760-1783. *Chicago*.
- SYDNEY G. PETTIT, A.B. British Columbia 1936; M.A. 1945. The judiciary in the colonial period of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. *Washington*.
- W. G. PHILLIPS, B.A. Toronto 1944; M.A. 1947. The farm implement industry. *Toronto*.
- Rev. JOSEPH AURÈLE PLOURDE, Étude sur la situation agricole au diocèse d'Edmundston. *Ottawa*.
- LESLIE I. POSTE, The origins of the Canadian public libraries: A study of the public library movement in Ontario. *Chicago*.
- W. H. PUGSLEY, B.Com. McGill 1934; M.B.A. Harvard 1936; Ph.D. McGill 1950. The Bank of International Settlement. *McGill*.
- ALLANA G. REID, B.A. McGill 1943; M.A. 1945. The importance of the city of Quebec under the French régime. *McGill*.
- JOHN E. REYNOLDS, A.B. Harvard 1944; A.M. 1950. Canadian foreign economic policy. *Harvard*.
- J. RICHARDSON, B.A. Bishop's 1935; M.A. McGill 1950. The early history of the Eastern Townships. *McGill*.
- HOUSTON T. ROBISON, B.S. Oregon 1938; M.S. 1943; Ph.D. Chicago 1949. Newfoundland, 1887-1934. *Chicago*.
- WILLIAM K. ROLPH, B.A. Toronto 1940; A.M. Brown 1941. Henry Wise Wood and the agrarian movement in western Canada, 1915-1932. *Brown*.
- VERNON ROSS, B.A. McGill 1924; M.A. 1926; B.S. Columbia 1937. Influence of printed material upon the people of Lower Canada, 1760-1865. *McGill*.
- WALTER D. SAGE, B.A. British Columbia 1940; M.A. Clark 1941. Americans in early British Columbia. *California* (Berkeley).
- Sister ANN EDWARD SCANLON, B.A. College of St. Scholastica 1932; M.A. Chicago 1941; Ph.D. 1949. The rise of Duluth as an ore port, 1900-1915. *Chicago*.
- EGIL SCHONNING, B.A. Alberta 1941; M.A. Toronto 1948. Collective bargaining in the pulp and paper industry. *Toronto*.
- MARGARET E. SHAY, B.A. New Jersey College for Women 1934; M.S.Sc. Columbia 1946. The Asbestos strike: A case study in the breakdown in industrial communication. *Fordham*.
- IRVING A. SIRKEN, B.A. McGill 1942; M.A. 1943; A.M. Harvard 1947; M.P.A. 1947. Canada's post-war balance of payments. *Harvard*.
- GORDON D. SMITH, The historical background of Canada's Arctic claims. *Columbia*.
- DALLAS H. STEINTHORSEN, B.A. Queen's 1948; A.M. Harvard 1949. Problems in input-output analysis of the Canadian economy. *Harvard*.
- W. H. STUART, B.A. British Columbia 1947; B.Ed. 1947; M.A. 1949. Canadian opinion of the United States between 1837 and 1876. *Toronto*.
- R. J. SUTHERLAND, B.Com. Toronto 1941; M.A. 1945; Ph.D. 1950. Economic and political consequences of air power. *Toronto*.
- MAX B. THATCHER, B.S. California 1935; A.M. 1936. Political issues in Quebec: A study in Canadian federalism. *Northwestern*.

- HOWARD A. VERNON, B.A. Chicago 1937; M.A. 1940. French Canadians in the French Revolution. *Chicago*.
- JOHN R. WILLIAMS, A.B. Lawrence 1944; A.M. Johns Hopkins 1947. The Conservative party of Canada, 1920-1949. *Duke*.
- WILLIAM MAXWELL WILSON, B.Com. McGill 1947; M.A. Johns Hopkins 1950. Canada's foreign exchange conservation programme. *Johns Hopkins*.
- RUTH M. WINTON, B.A. California 1944; M.A. 1946. Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Newfoundland, 1701-1850. *California* (Los Angeles).
- OSCAR W. WINZERLING, A.B. St. Louis 1924; M.A. Minnesota 1941; Ph. D. California, 1949. The removal of Acadian exiles from France to Louisiana, 1763-1758. *California* (Berkeley).
- GRANT MACLACHLIN WRIGHT, B.Sc. Queen's 1940; M.Sc. 1947. Geology of the Ranji Lake-Ghost Lake Area, Northwest Territories, Canada. *Yale*.
- HENRY J. YOUNG, Loyalism in Pennsylvania. *Johns Hopkins*.
- M. ZASLOW, B.A. Alberta 1941; B.Ed. 1942; M.A. Toronto 1948. A history of transportation and development of the Mackenzie basin from 1921 to 1948. *Toronto*.

### Theses for the Master's Degree

- MISS C. ABBOTT, B.A. Queen's 1937. Sir John Abbott. *Queen's*.
- FREDERICK WOODLEY ANDERSON, B.A. Saskatchewan 1948; M.A. 1949. Some political aspects of the Grain Growers' Movement, 1915-1935, with particular reference to Saskatchewan. *Saskatchewan*.
- GERALD LLOYD BERRY, B.A. Alberta 1942; M.A. 1950. Alberta-Montana relationships. *Alberta*.
- K. C. BINKS, B.A. Queen's 1948. French-Canadian opinion on Canada's Commonwealth relationship. *Queen's*.
- JOHN ALEXANDER BOAN, B.A. Saskatchewan 1949. Economic adaptation in agriculture on the Canadian plains. *Saskatchewan*.
- D. A. BRISTOW, B.A. Toronto 1940; M.A. 1950. The agrarian interest in Ontario politics. *Toronto*.
- STEPHEN CHRISTOPHER CANELLIS, A.B. Brooklyn College 1949. United States-Canadian relations since 1930. *New York*.
- V. O. CHAN, B.A. McGill 1947; M.A. 1950. Canadian Knights of Labour with special reference to the 1880's. *McGill*.
- JAMES K. CHAPMAN, B.A. New Brunswick 1950. Relations of Maine and New Brunswick in the era of Reciprocity. *New Brunswick*.
- MARY K. CHRISTIE, B.A. Toronto 1936. Sir Alexander Campbell. *Toronto*.
- L. C. CLARK, B.A. Manitoba 1948. Canada in the year 1879. *Queen's*.
- D. B. CLIMENHAGA, B.A. Saskatchewan 1948; M.A. 1949. Public finance in Saskatchewan during the settlement process, 1905-1929. *Saskatchewan*.
- J. C. CLOUGH, B.A. Toronto 1930. Introduction to the papers of Bishop Mountain. *Toronto*.
- MARGARET E. COULBY, M.A. Ottawa 1950. William Wilfred Campbell. *Ottawa*.
- JOSEPH BRUCE CREECH, B.A. Western Ontario 1949. A history of the London, Huron, and Bruce Railway. *Western Ontario*.
- J. E. CRUICKSHANK, B.A. Toronto 1935; M.A. 1949. The "Clear Grit" party. *Toronto*.
- KSHITINDRA PRASAD DALAL, B.Com. Calcutta 1939; M.B.A. New York 1950. Governmental financing of industries in America, England, and Canada. *New York*.
- JOHN K. A. FARRELL, B.A. Western Ontario 1948; M.A. 1949. The history of the Roman Catholic Church in London, Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- A. W. FRASER, B.A. St. Patrick's 1943; M.A. McGill 1950. The displaced persons in Canada: A problem in re-education. *McGill*.
- GEORGE W. B. FRASER, B.A. Acadia 1949; M.A. 1950. The Canadian Atlantic fisheries. *Acadia*.
- AILEEN GARLAND, B.A. Toronto 1934; M.Ed. Manitoba 1950. Certain material in Canadian history (published and unpublished): Its suitability in the elementary grades. *Manitoba*.
- R. LOUIS GENTILCORE, B.A. Toronto 1947. Land use and agricultural production in Antigonish County, Nova Scotia. *Maryland*.
- L. GERTLER, B.A. Queen's 1946; M.A. Toronto 1950. Economic problems of urban re-development. *Toronto*.

- J. C. HANSON, B.A. New Brunswick 1946; M.A. McGill 1950. Collective bargaining in wartime crown companies in Canada. *McGill*.
- JAMES HARVEY HASSARD, B.A. Western Ontario 1948. The economic and social development of the northern townships of Halton County, Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- GREGORY L. HOGAN, B.A. Antigonish; M.A. Ottawa 1950. A comparison of cooperative techniques in Quebec and the Maritimes. *Ottawa*.
- M. JEAN HUSTON, B.A. Toronto 1949. Representation by population and federalism in the policy of the "Clear Grit" party, 1850-1864. *Toronto*.
- DANIEL INGRAM ISTVANFFY, B.A. Alberta 1948; M.A. 1950. A history of Turner Valley. *Alberta*.
- ORVILLE J. JAECKER, A.B. Concordia 1944; M.A. Indiana 1949. Henry Hamilton, soldier and lieutenant-governor of Detroit. *Indiana*.
- CORNELIUS JOHN JAENAN, B.A. Manitoba 1947; M.A. 1950. The Pentecostal movement in Western Canada. *Manitoba*.
- Sister M. JEAN-AUGUSTIN, SS.NN.J.M., M.A. Ottawa 1950. Douze années d'immigration française au Manitoba 1870-1882. *Ottawa*.
- W. KARASHOWSKY, B.A. Alberta 1948. H. H. Stevens and the Reconstruction party of 1935. *Queen's*.
- HERBERT DOUGLAS KEMP, B.A. Manitoba 1949; M.A. 1950. The administration of the Department of Interior, 1837-1883. *Manitoba*.
- T. E. LAYNG, B.A. Queen's 1948. American influences on Canadian education 1791-1850. *Queen's*.
- FRANCIS HOLMES LEACY, B.A. British Columbia 1941. Price behaviour in Canadian business cycles. *Columbia*.
- DAVID A. LOCKING, B.A. Western Ontario 1947. The economic and industrial history of the Thunder Bay district from 1800 to 1914. *Western Ontario*.
- C. ELIZABETH LOFFT, B.A. Toronto 1949. The election of 1896 in Western Ontario. *Western Ontario*.
- J. A. ROSS MACDONALD, B.A. Western Ontario; M.A. Clark 1950. A financial history of Ontario, 1939-1947. *Clark*.
- D. E. McFEE, B.Comm. Queen's 1947. William MacDougall. *Queen's*.
- J. S. MCGIVERN, B.A. Loyola 1932; M.A. Toronto 1949. Father Paul Ragueneau, S.J. *Toronto*.
- KATHERINE MACLEOD, B.A. Acadia 1949; M.A. 1950. Commercial union. *Acadia*.
- HELEN MCMAHON, B.A. Toronto 1948. John Sandfield Macdonald. *Queen's*.
- JOHN J. MATHER, B.A. Iowa State 1948. The transition of Newfoundland from Dominion status to the status of a crown colony. *Iowa State*.
- M. W. MENZIES, B.A. Saskatchewan 1948; M.A. 1949. The Canadian Wheat Board: A study in the development of Canadian agricultural policy. *Saskatchewan*.
- J. F. METCALF, B.A. Montana 1947; M.A. McGill 1950. Intraparty democracy in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. *McGill*.
- PIETRO MIGONE, M.A. Ottawa 1950. Robert Service, poet of the Canadian north. *Ottawa*.
- JOSEPH CHISHOLM MILLS, B.A. Manitoba 1947; M.A. 1950. Study of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. *Manitoba*.
- JAMES A. MILNER, LL.B. Dalhousie 1939; LL.M. Harvard 1950. Emergency strike legislation in Canada: A legislative proposal. *Harvard*.
- J. S. MOIR, B.A. Toronto 1948; M.A. 1949. Political ideas of the *Christian Guardian*, 1829-1849. *Toronto*.
- JAMES MORRISON, B.A. Acadia 1949; M.A. 1950. A history of labour-management in the coal-mining industry of Nova Scotia. *Acadia*.
- HERBERT IRA NELSON, The British dominions at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919: An essay on their role in the colonial and in the racial equality negotiations. *Cornell*.
- VIOLET NELSON, B.A. Queen's 1948. The Orange Order in Canadian politics. *Queen's*.
- IAN NICOLL, B.A. Alberta 1948; M.A. 1950. Urban municipal finance in a period of expansion: A study of the city of Edmonton. *Alberta*.
- GEORGE ALLAN O'BRIEN, The co-operative marketing of fleece wool in Canada. *Cornell*.
- J. F. O'SULLIVAN, B.A. Manitoba 1947; M.A. Toronto 1949. Dalton McCarthy and the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- JOHN A. PHILP, B.A. Western Ontario 1949. The social and economic influence of British regiments in Western Ontario, 1825-1867. *Western Ontario*.
- J. V. POAPST, B.Com. McGill 1947; M.Com. 1950. The growth of the life insurance industry in Canada, 1909-1947. *McGill*.

- HUGH D. PORTER, B.A. Queen's 1947. Kingston in Canadian-American relations, 1860-1870. *Queen's.*
- C. M. F. PREVEY, B.A. Toronto 1935. The development of the dairy industry in Alberta. *Toronto.*
- ROBERT GERALD PRODERICK, B.A. Toronto 1938. The American tariff administration in its effects on Canadian trade with the United States. *Columbia.*
- MARGARET V. RAY, B.A. Toronto 1922. Sudeten settlement in western Canada. *Toronto.*
- RALPH REYNOLDS, B.A. Queen's 1949. Social history of Upper Canada during the 1850's. *Queen's.*
- GIDEON ROSENBLUTH, B.A. Toronto 1943. Industrial concentration in post-war Canada and the effects of the war. *Columbia.*
- CHARLES ODDILON ROGER ROUSSEAU, B.Com. Sir George Williams College 1948; M.B.A. New York 1950. An outlook of Canadian trade and Canadian quantitative restriction on imports. *New York.*
- ERIC SCHOFIELD, B.A. Acadia 1949; M.A. 1950. An economic history of Canada, 1497-1920. *Acadia.*
- DONALD M. SCHURMAN, B.A. Acadia 1949; M.A. 1950. The background of the Imperial Federation movement. *Acadia.*
- CHARLES L. SEELEY, B.A. New Brunswick 1950. Disintegration of Huron culture in the seventeenth century. *New Brunswick.*
- MORRISON FINLAY SMELTZER, B.A. Saskatchewan 1947; M.A. 1950. Saskatchewan opinion regarding immigration, 1920-1939. *Saskatchewan.*
- ETHEL STEWART, B.A. Queen's 1948. A history of the Mackenzie valley. *Queen's.*
- G. D. SUTTON, B.Com. Queen's 1948; M.Com. 1949. Canadian banking, 1935-1948. *Queen's.*
- ROBERT S. TAYLOR, B.A. Western Ontario 1949. The four Welland Canals. *Western Ontario.*
- E. G. THOMAS, B.A. New Brunswick. Sir John Macdonald in opposition, 1873-1878. *Queen's.*
- J. J. TOEWS, B.A. Willamette 1945. Sectarian movements in the Mennonite Church. *Toronto.*
- JOHN C. VINCENT, M.A. Ottawa 1950. Sir Francis Bond Head. *Ottawa.*
- W. S. WADDELL, B.A. Alberta 1945; M.A. 1950. The western phase of the career of the Honourable Frank Oliver. *Alberta.*
- PATRICIA WHITEHEAD, B.A. London 1947. The governorship of the Earl of Dalhousie. *Queen's.*
- ARCHIE GLEN WILCOX, B.A. Alberta 1940; M.A. 1950. The founding of the Mormon community in Alberta. *Alberta.*
- L. JOYCE WILLIAMS, B.A. Toronto 1933. Egerton Ryerson and the *Christian Guardian*. *Toronto.*
- MAURICE PICKARD WILKINSON, B.A. Manitoba 1941; M.A. 1950. The episcopate of Bishop Anderson, first Anglican bishop of Rupert's Land, 1848-1864. *Manitoba.*
- A. ARNOTT WILSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1949. The industrial development of the Port Colborne area. *Western Ontario.*
- S. WISEMAN, B.A. McGill 1948; M.A. 1950. An enquiry into the welfare effects arising from the development of the Canadian pulp and paper industry. *McGill.*

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### CANADA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### SHAPING THE POST-WAR WORLD

It is becoming doubtful whether we can expect much more in the way of a formal peace settlement than we have already managed to secure. The basic outlines of the post-war world were in fact largely established by 1949. The two conclusive events were the unification of Western Germany and the conquest of China by the Communists. Together they decided the shape of things in Europe and Asia as far as the outcome of the war itself was concerned. That shape is not final and static, any more than the treaties of 1815 and 1919 were final. But we now have the practical equivalent of those treaties in a situation which defines the spheres that the two rival blocs can consider as their own and can use as bases for the attempts at a modification of the settlement which are already in progress.

By and large the settlement was inadvertent. It was brought about, not by any deliberate design, but by the interplay of pressures and rivalries that ultimately produced their own balance, independent of conscious decision. It is true that certain minor aspects were formalized by the treaties with Italy and the eastern satellites, but even this measure of agreement between the war-time allies was incomplete and impermanent. Even so, it was attained only because both sides were prepared to accept what were virtually *faits accomplis* in matters of secondary importance, in order to concentrate their efforts and energies on more vital objectives. In the Far East, and still more in Germany, the stakes were higher, the divergences were more acute, and the outcome was determined on the one hand by the offensive strength which Russian Communism was prepared to deploy, on the other hand by the extent of the resistance which the west was able and willing to offer.

The result was something that nobody wanted. It corresponded to the desires of neither the Russians, the Western democracies, nor the peoples involved. It was a product of neither reason nor logic, but only of mutual frustrations. Each side got what it could seize and hold short of the use of force on a scale that would risk a major conflict; each found that the result fell far short of what could be regarded as a satisfactory basis either for future security and stability or for a just and durable peace.

In consequence, victors no less than vanquished find themselves committed by the very nature of the situation to a revisionist approach. There are of course changes to be effected and decisions to be taken, arising out of the situation itself. Questions such as the powers to be given to the West German government, and the nature of the Japanese economy, now have to be solved by the Allies. But these are merely corollaries of what has already taken place; the real difficulty lies in the fact that neither of the main protagonists is reconciled to the present lines of the settlement. Communism, with its doctrine of implacable war against the capitalist world, is powerfully reinforced by the concept of Russian national security which sees no safety except in complete domination of every state that might conceivably oppose the will of Moscow. The Western democracies, aiming not merely at One World but at a free world, cannot but respond by seizing every practical opportunity to weaken the Soviet bloc and to encourage whatever tendencies may emerge toward national independence and individual liberty.



These elements, so fundamental to the cold war, have a long history behind them. They were present from the very first in the relations between the Bolshevik régime and the Western Powers. They were moderated during the thirties, when the menace of Fascist-Nazi aggression brought about a guarded co-operation, but the period of appeasement renewed the suspicious apprehension of the Soviets and led ultimately to the Nazi-Soviet pact. The memories of Munich, of the Anglo-French tepidity in the negotiations of 1939, of Western hostility and its manifestations on such occasions as the Finnish war, left an abiding legacy of bitterness and distrust. These sentiments were carried into the enforced war-time partnership between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies and were manifested in manifold ways. The controversy over the second front was only one of the episodes that brought them into play and helped to keep them alive. One consequence was the virtual impossibility of a full co-ordination of war efforts and activities. While the Soviets were demanding the most lavish aid from the West, they were at the same time refusing nearly all requests for information about their own plans and needs; and even when occasionally an agreement was reached in principle on some specific form of co-operation—as for instance the provision of bases in Russia for American planes—application of the agreement in practice was usually delayed or evaded entirely.

What this signified was an acute realization on the part of the Russians that wars are fought for political objectives, and that military and political strategy are inseparably connected. And in a coalition war it is not simply a question of defeating the immediate enemy and imposing terms on him. Allies and associates also have to be considered, for their objectives may be at variance with your own; and in that case victory must not only be won, but won in such a manner as to give your own country the maximum advantage when it comes to determining the terms of the settlement. Stalin might pay lip service to the need for continued unity after the war, but the whole of Soviet policy was clearly based on the assumption that such unity was improbable, or at least that it could only be attained on terms that would involve an unacceptable sacrifice of Russian interests. Hence the determination to keep war-time contacts to a minimum, to forego important military advantages rather than compromise future political possibilities—for example, the veto on an American advance on Prague—and to place the Soviet armies at the close of the war in control of what Russia regarded as her essential security zone.

This concept of a security zone, of a closed sphere of influence under Russian domination, was basic in Soviet policy. Closely allied to it was the urgent desire to keep the direction of world affairs in the hands of the Big Three. On both these points there were bound to be divergences with the Western Allies. Britain and France felt that the overthrow of Nazism must have as a corollary the restoration of popular self-government to the liberated lands. Russia felt that only governments dominated by Communists and completely subservient to Moscow could be tolerated in eastern Europe. When Byrnes, protesting against this attitude, asserted that the United States did not want anything but governments friendly to the Soviet Union in adjacent countries, Molotov retorted: "I must tell you that I have doubts as to this, and it would not be honest to hide it." Similarly Britain and the United States, while they agreed that the Great Powers must possess the veto power, wanted the small nations to have a free voice in international affairs, and the United States particularly insisted that France and China must be accepted politically as of Great Power rank. Stalin fought against these ideas; and though at last he gave way in principle, the concession was largely stultified in both the

United Nations and the treaty-making procedure by the tactics followed by the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, serious disagreement could hardly be avoided. All through the war-time negotiations on post-war issues ran the unhappy controversy over the future of Poland, not only in its boundaries but even more in its political structure. The apparent agreement that was reached at Yalta proved completely delusive, for the Russians insisted on interpreting it in a way that destroyed the whole basis to which the Western Powers had assented, and the resulting re-criminations seriously widened the growing gap. Even more decisive was the Russian refusal to carry out the Declaration on Liberated Europe, providing for freely elected governments, and the brutal dictation that installed a Communist government in Rumania and symbolized Russian determination to be bound by no pledges that did not serve Soviet interests. The Potsdam conference failed to resolve the issue; the subsequent meetings of foreign ministers revealed an increasing intransigence on both sides; and by the time the Marshall Plan was adopted, the cold war was in full swing.

Our knowledge of the events behind these developments has been steadily increased during the past few years, almost wholly from American sources. Let us be grateful for the frequent changes in the office of secretary of state that produce explanatory memoirs, for the willingness of generals and admirals to yield to the blandishments of publishers, for the publishing policy of the State Department that is giving us so much in the way of basic documentation. If the other members of the Big Three would match this output, we should be rich indeed. But no such miracle can be hoped for as far as Russia is concerned, and even on British policy much of our most useful information is to be found in American works.

The extensive material that has already appeared on the war-time discussions of peace problems has now been summarized by William L. Neumann in a booklet entitled *Making the Peace, 1941-1945*. No better introduction could be asked to this complex and highly controversial aspect. It was in the war-time conferences that the basic problems emerged and the divergences of opinion were revealed. Mr. Neumann, making full use of the available and relevant sources, has compressed the main points into an admirable factual account, illustrated with extracts from the key documents. If he avoids discussion and criticism, it is a conscious restraint, as can be seen from his concluding passages on the Yalta controversy and the failure to maintain Allied unity. In a brief space he gives a clear picture of the essential issues and the attempts to solve them, and places both aspects in their just perspective in relation to the problem of the settlement.

This problem is viewed from a different and a most interesting angle in the State Department's volume on *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939-1945*. This is the story of the efforts by the American government to secure the information and formulate the policies that would be necessary in dealing with the results of the war. It describes the initial activities of the Advisory Committee on Problems of Foreign Relations, created at the end of 1939; the more comprehensive activities of the broader Committee on Post-War Foreign Policy with its numerous sub-committees that came into existence after Pearl Harbor; the suspension of this body in mid-1943 and the growing devolution of specific problems on various functional bodies, some of which had a distinct air of improvisation. In more than one way it is a revealing account. While it shows the tremendous energy that was put into research and the initial formulation of proposals, it also brings out the lack of complete continuity at the actual planning level, and the

incomplete success in co-ordinating the activities of various departments of government and producing a firm and agreed policy on the salient issues. Yet the volume is of high value for these very reasons, and still more for the skill with which it interweaves the threads of military developments, inter-allied politics, and American study and planning. For the latter aspect the appendices, with their selections from documents that illustrate the activities of the various committees and research groups, are of particular interest.

New light continues to be cast on the Allied conferences during the war and the immediate post-war period, and on the steady widening of the rift between Russia and the West. Admiral Leahy, as the President's chief of staff, attended the various meetings from Quebec to Potsdam, and his private notes form the basis for his narrative in *I was There*. It is a book with no pretences to style and scarcely more to organization, reflecting the blunt dogmatic personality of the author and his narrow and unrepentant conservatism. Yet with all its limitations it is a useful supplement to other narratives covering the same period. It contains few major revelations, but it does amplify in certain aspects the narratives of Byrnes and Stettinius, and certainly cannot be neglected in any study of the problem of post-war settlement.

A much more basic document, however, is the story of Yalta and its aftermath as related by E. R. Stettinius in *Roosevelt and the Russians*. It is true that this was written with the definite purpose of vindicating the President's policy at this crucial meeting, but that does not diminish its fundamental importance as a narrative of what took place. There were some meetings of the Big Three at which Stettinius was not present and on which he cannot testify, but to offset this he was one of the foreign ministers to whom the leaders referred nearly all their difficulties and who played such a pivotal if exhausting role in the conference. The result is the most detailed narrative we have yet had of the Yalta proceedings; and whether or not it fulfils the author's primary aim—and I am inclined to agree with his view that the real trouble arose not from the Yalta decisions, but from the failure of Russia to implement them in their true spirit—there can be no doubt that, short of the publication of the actual records of the Yalta talks, the book will stand as the fullest record of the conference that we are likely to get.

One of the themes that was prominent in Allied planning, and that played its part in the discussions at Yalta, was the idea of preventing any new German aggression by the partition of Germany into a number of separate states. Partition has indeed taken place, but along lines very different from those envisaged. How this has come about is partially recorded in the State Department volume, *Germany, 1947-1949: The Story in Documents*. I say partially not merely because of the limits of the period covered, for a preceding volume on *Occupation of Germany* takes care of that aspect. The real limitation arises from the fact that the documents are selected primarily to illustrate United States policy in Germany. Thus they do not tell the complete story, as the sub-title might suggest. There are gaps that can only be filled by a knowledge of the policies and actions of the other powers, and especially of Russia. A fuller selection of diplomatic notes and statements from the Russian side would be extremely valuable in amplifying and clarifying the record. Yet one must not be too insistent in asking for an expansion of a volume that already runs to over six hundred double-column pages. It covers a highly critical period which included the Berlin blockade and the formation of the Bonn government, and there are few items that can be regarded as irrelevant. Their cumulative effect is to impress the reader with the constant pressure for decision and action in a wide variety of fields, and the insistent need to meet the

demands of practical situations in the absence of a definite treaty. It is in fact an indication of the scope and complexity of the problem that so large a compilation still needs extensive supplementing if the full picture is to be clear.

Circumstances have very seriously curtailed our freedom of decision as to the future of Germany. Circumstances also condition our decisions on Japan, but here the Western Powers have a much wider scope for action independent of Russian co-operation. And action has grown urgent because of miscalculations in Far Eastern policy, particularly on the part of the United States—miscalculations which Sumner Welles, in his introduction to Edwin O. Reischauer's volume on *The United States and Japan*, trenchantly criticizes as the products of vacillation and ignorance.

Mr. Reischauer's volume itself can be highly recommended as a background and introduction to the whole topic of post-war Japan. His title was probably imposed upon him by considerations of uniformity, for the book appears in the very useful series "The American Foreign Policy Library." He has, however, wisely refused to adhere to it too rigidly. Instead of treating primarily of American diplomacy, he has concentrated on Japan itself and on the task of explaining the basic elements in Japanese society and tradition. The result is one of the most successful attempts I have encountered to explain the Japanese character and mentality, to analyse the social structure and the social rules to which it has given rise, and to show how these factors affect the individual and his modes of conduct. There is an excellent study of the effect of defeat on Japan, and the book as a whole is shrewd and penetrating in its judgments and readable and persuasive in its presentation. It brings out in a striking way the difference in thought patterns and standards of values between West and East—a difference that must be fully appreciated if a stable settlement in that region is to be achieved.

There is little need to emphasize the vital importance for Canada of the developments that have shaped the present scheme of things. Leaders and public alike have an acute awareness of the issues and their bearing on Canadian interests, which marks a tremendous advance over the state of things before 1939. The contrast is made clearly evident by George Glazebrook in his *History of Canadian External Relations*. This is a volume which combines the author's earlier work on the period to 1914 with a new section covering the period since the outbreak of the First World War. In its new form the book fills a real need for a general survey of Canadian external policy. Its treatment of events between the wars is sober and balanced. Mr. Glazebrook makes a point of stressing the positive elements in Canadian policy during these years—elements that are often obscured by the negative aspects which have come in for so much well-founded criticism. But he shows with equal clarity the serious limitations, understandable though many of them were, which especially hampered Canada's contribution to the working of the collective system, and which stand in striking contrast to the more active and constructive attitude that has been adopted since 1945.

Bound up with the cautious nature of Canada's pre-war policy was an obdurate reticence on the part of the government which made it extremely difficult to mobilize an informed public opinion behind a definite line of policy. This too has changed noticeably during the past few years. Speeches on foreign policy by responsible leaders are much more frequent, both in and out of Parliament. A more positive policy of information has been evolving in the Department of External Affairs. It is exemplified by such publications as the monthly bulletin, *External Affairs*, the annual volume on *Canada and the United Nations*, and the yearly *Report of the Department of External Affairs*.

If one may judge from the last of these publications, the evolution of policy has not yet reached completion. The question of what the *Report* should try to do, and how best it can be done, has still to be resolved. As a brief record of activities, designed to satisfy the law that requires it to be produced, it doubtless serves its purpose. If, however, its aim is to seek a more general circulation with the object of enlightening the public—or, for that matter, of inducing interest and understanding on the part of members of Parliament—a very different problem arises. Some fuller analysis of the main issues in foreign affairs would be desirable, and, even more, some explanation of the bases and motives of Canadian policy in its major manifestations seems almost essential. From this point of view, one need only look at such sections as those dealing with Germany or with the North Atlantic Pact to see how very different is the treatment needed if a real function of public information is to be achieved. One need not envy the compiler who is assigned such a task. He may find himself assailed by allegedly friendly governments who object to his statements and by avowedly hostile Opposition members who find propaganda in every line. Yet the potential value of the *Report* to the Canadian public is very great indeed, and it is to be hoped that by continued experiment—not excluding the risk of occasional error—the potentialities may be fully realized in the not too distant future.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Mackenzie King of Canada: A Biography.* By H. REGINALD HARDY. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xli, 390. (\$3.50)  
*Unrevised and Unrepented: Debating Speeches and Others.* By the Rt. Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN. With a foreword by M. GRATTAN O'LEARY. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. 1949. Pp. xiii, 470. (\$5.00)

Mr. HARDY's book on Mackenzie King suffers from the invariable defects of biographies written during the lifetime of their subjects: they inevitably end up as rather starchy eulogies. In addition, this book has all the faults of "journalese"; its style is repetitious, barren, and flat and its contents are mostly "small change" with the "human interest" sign conspicuously displayed. In three or four hundred pages it is impossible to avoid making a number of accurate statements, but no number of accurate statements simply strung together makes a portrait. Moreover, there is a tremendous overdose of emphasis on what might be called the "anecdota" of Mr. King—little incidents blown up to altogether undue proportions. For example, while it is pleasant to learn of the affection that developed between Mr. King and a little girl of ten, living in the house in which he spent a few years of his youth, such a passage hardly warrants ten pages of print! Especially when many of the vital matters are either ignored or passed over with a superficial mention. In referring to the formation of the first ministry, for instance, the author has not a word to say on the methods and expedients that mark such a big constitutional event but merely refers to the fact that Mr. King found it necessary to discontinue answering his telephone calls (p. 93). Mr. Hardy furnishes us with virtually no new information of importance and with no new analysis. He seems to have got his information in curious places, seldom from an important first-hand source, but from the lesser persons about the Prime Minister and from other people on the fringes, the kind of individuals who have trivia to disburse to those interested in receiving them.

An assessment of Mackenzie King, as man and statesman, remains to be made.

If one were a complete stranger to the Canadian scene (but acquainted with the Irish), to come upon a book written by a man named Meighen and introduced by a man named O'Leary would in itself be an event of interest—and some bewilderment. However that may be, Mr. Meighen's collection of speeches, in contrast with the preceding volume, provides matter of significance and manner of distinction. These speeches run from 1911 to 1949 and thus cover a fair section of Meighen's life. They deal with the subjects with which his name will always be associated—the tariff, foreign policy, empire piety, constitutional propriety, war and its conduct, the sinful acts of his opponents, Shakespeare, socialism, and the memory of men who have passed on.

One cannot fail to be impressed with the debating power and the clarity of language in this book. Political speeches are usually highly pedestrian efforts, dead as soon as born, but in these of Mr. Meighen there are gifts of expression which still gain the reader's interest. Mr. Meighen's career did not seem to measure up to his gifts. These speeches, and the recollection of the manner of the Meighen delivery, help explain why. They are cogent pieces of reasoning, even when they are pure advocacy. Advocacy, powerful advocacy, they invariably are, even when the occasion is non-controversial; indeed, Mr. Meighen's *in memoriam* orations themselves have something of the ring of advocacy about them. His speeches often rise to a sombre eloquence. There always pours from them an undeniable earnestness, a burning sincerity. Why, then, did they so often fail of their effect? Those who have



heard Meighen can tell why. Undeniable earnestness can easily pass over into self-righteousness. The unsparing onslaught, the voice suffused with passion and with bitterness, the unflinching pugnacity, the invariable lack of humour, the hard, taut personality, the absence of charm, all these made themselves immediately manifest through the spoken word. Unless the hearer's own temperament were unrelenting and vindictive, when he heard Mr. Meighen on his polemical occasions, he found himself sympathizing with the object of the orator's denunciations. That is probably sufficient explanation of his failure.

The contents of the speeches bring the explanation into another area, that of debate, with its assumed basis of rationality. Throughout his career, as these speeches make clear, Mr. Meighen has stood steadfast for certain principles. No one can accuse him of being an opportunist; if he had been one, he might have been prime minister longer than he was. These principles, the historic credo of his party, he has always clothed in the language of reason, but it is obvious that their roots are in emotional tradition. Foremost among them is the assumption that Canada is as much a "British" community as is Great Britain, her people still "British" in the old racial sense. Second comes the proposition that Canada's safety is bound up with Great Britain's and that, consequently, Canadian security must consist primarily in defence of the British Isles. As a corollary to this lies a belief in the British navy as Canada's major defence. These views, not inconsistent with the first stages of nationalism, though difficult to reconcile with its more mature expression, seem to have been held consistently and without change, from the beginning. They command traditional respect and great numbers of his English-Canadian compatriots still share them. It is impossible to believe, however, that they are primarily rational; they spring from that traditional emotion which any of us of a given ancestry may feel stirring within ourselves, sometimes so powerfully as almost to overturn another and what seems a more logical conception. This is, briefly, that if we are to have a real community here and not two nations forever warring in the bosom of a single state, a compromise between two ancestral traditions, each very strong and very different from the other, must be reached. Mr. King sensed the necessity of such a compromise. Mr. Meighen did not. Perhaps their careers demonstrate sufficiently which of the two was closer to reality.

Among other principles which Mr. Meighen has stood for have been individualism and private initiative; he has been against socialism of a formal type, though not against reform and control. However, in this grand engagement he has only been present at the opening skirmishes.

Mr. Meighen has staunchly defended the rights and privileges of Parliament. His comment on the dissolution of 1940, severe but just, sharpens a point made by this reviewer elsewhere; no one protested more loudly his faith in and admiration for parliamentary government than did Mr. Meighen's chief antagonist, Mr. King. And no one did so much to weaken the role of Parliament in our constitution. Mr. Meighen is on sound ground here. The man who made "parliament will decide" an historic phrase came close, and apparently willingly close, to making parliament a cypher.

Mr. Meighen includes a lecture or two on higher education, but he never loses an opportunity for a jibe against those who carry it on, "the professors," "the academic apostles," the "professors of Social Science" whatever that may be: such characters are invariably on the wrong side, rather contemptible, "near pinks," and so on. Mr. Meighen might reflect that he does as great a disservice by such attitudes towards a class upon whom the public must depend for a good deal of its leadership as do the more extreme exponents of some of the views he does not like.



In a review many topics must be passed over; to touch on all raised by this collection would be to glance over the course of Canadian history during the past forty years. Enough have been mentioned to indicate that these speeches, a reflection of the man and an epitome of the Tory outlook, are both interesting and valuable.

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*Saint among the Hurons: The Life of Jean de Brébeuf.* By FRANCIS XAVIER TALBOT, S.J. New York: Harper and Brothers [Toronto: Musson Book Co.]. 1949. Pp. 351. (\$3.75)

WHAT a splendid story is that of Brébeuf! We see him first as a country squire in Normandy, a mighty youth, very tall, great-chested, great-fisted. But the spirit was troubled, and at the age of twenty-four he joined the Jesuit order. Though he displayed a remarkable gift for languages, the imperious body, the ardent mind, suffered under the routine of schoolmastering. (Young Corneille was a pupil in the Rouen school during Brébeuf's incumbency, as Father Talbot fails to notice.) He was an adventurer by inward compulsion; it was his fortune to seek his adventure in the service of his faith. When he came to Canada, he soon proved to be the ideal missionary. His physical strength bore him through every trial. He carried his weaker brothers' packs with his own; he could outpaddle the Indians, though he sat ill in a frail canoe. His spiritual strength, his hearty gaiety, his readiness of speech in Algonquin and Huron, brought him the love of the simple people, their submission to his word, to the word of God. He died by slow torture at the hands of the Iroquois, and now he has become a saint.

Father Talbot, President of Loyola College, Baltimore, and author of an admirable life of St. Isaac Jogues, has written the first adequate biography of Brébeuf. He writes for the general reader, and makes the most of the external drama of Brébeuf's story. Why not, indeed? The drama is all there, ready to the popularizer's hand. There was never a romantic novel more rich in adventure, bloodshed, hair's-breadth escapes, lurking terror in the ominous forest. And there is plenty of love interest, though the love is that of God and not of woman.

Father Talbot gives us also the inner drama of Brébeuf's life. Probably only a Jesuit can really understand the effect of Jesuit training on the human spirit. Only a priest can really know the heart of a priest.

The book is to be most warmly recommended to the non-specialist. The author has read all the contemporary materials, and he tells his story with infinite gusto and with a scrupulous regard for the fact.

The specialist in the period will probably not learn from these pages much that he does not already know. I suspect that the Indianist and anthropologist will make a good many marginal comments on the Indian lore, for Father Talbot shows little familiarity with their recent work. As for Brébeuf's background, Father Talbot has overlooked René Harmand's *Georges de Brébeuf* (Paris, 1897), which gives a good many facts on the Brébeuf family. Jean de Brébeuf's cousin Georges was a well-known poet. This fact would have been worth mentioning, as an indication that the family was one of cultivation. The specialist will also be pained by the frequent misspelling of proper names, Herbert for Hébert, and even Roberville for Roberval! And Governor Argall of Virginia is referred to as "an English buccaneer named Argyll"! But we all make mistakes, and Father Talbot

would be justified in retorting that he did not write his book for those who knew all about it already.

There is one thing more. Father Talbot offends the nice reader by referring throughout to his hero as "De Brébeuf." Will we never learn the rules for the French *particule*? Since I was myself recently upbraided therefor in these columns — though most unjustly, I vow — by no less a person than Dr. W. Stewart Wallace (C.H.R., Dec., 1948, 425), I may be pardoned for setting down the rules. When a proper name with *de* is used without the Christian name, omit the *de*. Never say de Maupassant; say Maupassant, Musset, Brébeuf. *Exception*: When the proper name is a monosyllable or begins with a vowel, use *de* or *d'*. Say de Monts, d'Aubigné. *Exception to exception*: A few familiar names seem to defy the rules. French writers say Retz more commonly than de Retz, and some nobles affect to regard themselves as identical with the places they are of. Thus the Duc d'Aumale signs himself "Aumale," as a Duke of Toronto might sign himself "Toronto."

MORRIS BISHOP

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*An International Community on the St. Croix (1604-1930)*. By HAROLD A. DAVIS. (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 64.) Orono: University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 412. (\$2.75)

UNTIL the coming of the railways the history of the Maritime Provinces was in large part that of a group of scattered communities which fiercely competed with one another in the fishing, shipping, and logging trades. Natural barriers isolated them and the frequent form of communication was by sea. The basic attitude was usually local or regional rather than provincial. In this book we have a detailed, thoroughly documented account of the politics, commerce, and cultural characteristics of one of these regions. Much that has been written is somewhat reminiscent of the Miramichi or Pictou or the South Shore, of the persistent attempts of a community of people to sustain themselves against forces which have been in the main adverse and without the aid of great accumulations of capital or of sympathetic government policies. For a century and a half the struggle has continued and surplus population has with continuous regularity gone forth to people the interior portions of the continent. Today, the author remarks, the prospect is no brighter than it has ever been.

But the unique thing, and this is probably the reason why the book was written, is that this is an international community. Nowhere, perhaps, has the familiar North Atlantic Triangle been so long and so vitally a fact. And probably nowhere as well has Canadian-American solidarity had so many remarkable manifestations. The St. Croix forms most of the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. On each side of the narrow river valley there is a wilderness. It is not surprising that the people at an early date should have attained almost a unanimity of opinion on the issues of war and peace and sometimes, too, a common contempt for governments. In 1812 they agreed not to fight one another and throughout the many alarums of the century there was never really a prospect that they would fight. There are many examples cited in the book to show how this amity has continued to increase. On one occasion, it was reported, the contents of the royal magazine at St. Stephen were loaned to the citizens of Calais for their Fourth of July celebration; and Calais made appropriate returns on the Twenty-Fourth of May. In 1898 the editor of the *Calais Times* boasted of how long he had fought the battles of the Liberal party in the valley and for some time the *St. Croix Courier* of St

Stephen has been the only newspaper supporting the Democrats of eastern Maine. "America" and "God Save the King" have been sung in alternate stanzas. Many of these delightful forms of reciprocity are still current. By intermarriage and increasing commercial connexions the unity of the region has been accentuated. All commercial connexions have not, strictly speaking, been legitimate. Smuggling is a good old cause. Somebody has remarked, perhaps rather maliciously, that the international bridge between the two towns is really the sole support of the valley. However this may be, government agents on both sides of the border have led tortuous lives. Once there was a time when those in Calais were chased by small boys and pelted with rotten eggs, an example of public contempt for law and order which allowed citizens on the opposite side to boast of the superiority of British institutions.

This will be a valuable book for those who are interested in the history of the Maritime Provinces. In its own right the sixteen-page bibliography is a first-class contribution. The operation of the familiar factors of the nineteenth-century economy is clearly shown and probably no other maritime region has received such thorough treatment. There is a great deal of factual material to show how close was the economic bond between Maine and New Brunswick during the age of wood, wind, and water. The international boundary constituted no obstacle of importance to those optimistic spirits who strove to build empires of timber. The speculative fever and visions of unlimited wealth which were so evident in New Brunswick in the eighteen-thirties were in large part exported from Maine. The interaction was important throughout the century. The Ashburton Treaty was in some ways a recognition of the fact that, although the St. Croix valley is politically divided, economically it is a single unit.

Since comings and goings across the frontier are so general, Mr. Davis's theme is one of integration. When at the end of his book he writes about divergences his comments are not copious but what he has to say is complimentary to New Brunswick: "Manners tend to be more formal and less brusque. . . . Church attendance is larger and more regular. School children and young people generally are more polite and more deferential toward their elders. Clerks and storekeepers appear more alert and more eager to serve their customers" (p. 306). And there is more as well. Without being so brash as frankly to concur we are gratified.

Mr. Davis was born in Moose Jaw but has spent the greater part of his life in the United States. His book was written under the supervision of Professor J. B. Brebner of Columbia. He now instructs at Bradford Junior College, Bradford, Mass.

W. S. MACNUTT

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*The Winnipeg General Strike.* By D. C. MASTERS. Toronto: University of Toronto Press—Saunders. 1950. Pp. xv, 159. (\$3.50)

THIS is the second in the series of studies sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council and under the direction of Professor S. D. Clark, designed to depict the background and development of Social Credit in Alberta. Professor Clark's foreword suggests that the labour revolt in the West closely paralleled the agrarian revolt discussed in W. L. Morton's *The Progressive Party in Canada*, in that both movements were protests against the various manifestations of eastern domination. He emphasizes autonomy as an aim common to workers and farmers of the West, although recognizing other divergences, and writes, "Achievement of

the ends of industrial unionism would have meant the almost complete autonomy of the western industrial communities." This thesis provides a satisfactory point of departure for a logical chain culminating in the "autonomous" development of Albertan politics in 1935, but it seems frail in one respect. Just as certain elements in the farmers' movement (notably the Non-Partisan League) fought primarily against industrial capitalism as an economic system, so, and to a much greater extent, western socialist trade unionists fought a system as well as a geographic section. To underemphasize this makes more difficult the comprehension of C.C.F. origins in 1932. The social gospel of Christianity, for example, was common to both movements, but was by no means the monopoly of Western Canada. Further, the "achievement of the ends of industrial unionism" would surely have meant the incorporation of eastern branches into the One Big Union. Neither the motivation nor the aims of western labour and farm leaders were exclusively sectional.

The central purpose of Professor Masters's book is to present an objective account of the origins, course, and results of the General Strike of 1919, and thus to correct the conspicuously subjective opinions which gained currency at the time and have been widespread since. This purpose is achieved admirably and at the same time fundamental problems are brought into focus. The author has used the mass of evidence presented in the strike trials of 1920 as well as in the Western labour press and numerous personal interviews. He sees through the Crown argument that the strike was primarily a Bolshevik attempt to initiate a soviet system in Canada and concludes that the strike origins are to be found in inflated living costs, low wages, and the refusal of labour to accept the iron-masters' definition of collective bargaining. He notes the "penchant for wild talk" of some of the radicals but punctures the myth that the strike (or the O.B.U.) was the creation of conspiratorial immigrants from central Europe. All of the strike leaders, with one exception, were born and educated in the British Isles, and although the S.D.F. background of some of them was pronounced, none of the O.B.U. leaders ever became a communist.

The course taken by the strike is clearly delineated with, perhaps, one exception. In chapter III a chronological sequence is not adopted, with the result that the account of the "silent parade" and the Mounted Police charge precedes the account of the federal arrest of the strike leaders. Here, a chronological treatment might have emphasized the developing tension, frustration, and fear which were principal causes of the returned soldiers' sympathetic parade.

According to the author the great weakness of a general strike is that the leaders must sooner or later assume some of the functions of government. "No dominion government," he writes at page 75, "could have ignored so serious a catastrophe as the Winnipeg strike." One cannot quarrel with this statement, but if it is an implied justification of the federal legal, police, and military plan to crush the strike, it should not be allowed to stand unqualified. The federal government quite clearly took its stand behind the employers (or in front of them) and in accepting responsibility for the forceful suppression might well have taken great pains to ensure a just decision of the dispute, even to the extent of temporary seizure and operation of the plants which were originally struck. One might also question whether the Winnipeg Strike Committee really did assume any significant function of government. Professor Masters suggests that its share (with the municipal government and the companies concerned) in the regulation of milk and bread deliveries was an example of this. But such economic activity has yet to be considered a function of government in this country. Perhaps one might as easily

argue that the Citizens' Committee in its significant influence upon the three levels of government came closer to "usurpation of constituted authority."

In dealing with the strike trials the author suggests cautiously that the juries were carefully selected, and observes that the jury for the main trial was composed exclusively of farmers (who had suffered loss of markets during the strike). He indicates also that the Crown's case was based upon the assumption rather than the proof of conspiracy. Here, perhaps, a more exhaustive discussion of the Canadian law of sedition and its alterations in Section 98 of the Criminal Code which was passed in July of 1919 would have added interest.

The historical significance of the strike, apart from its sharp reminder of the existence of class divisions in Canada, lies in the stimulus it gave to increased labour political activity. The institutional beneficiaries of the strike were the Manitoba Independent Labour party and, later, the C.C.F. Professor Masters suggests that J. S. Woodsworth was its real heir, but it is not quite accurate to state, as he does in the concluding paragraphs, that Woodsworth emerged from the strike comparatively unscathed. Partly as a result of his participation in it Woodsworth became an outcast from his class. Also, the legal charge of seditious libel remained a constant threat to him not only during the few days he spent in prison, but until the disposal of Fred Dixon's case in February, 1920.

This book is an admirable demonstration that it is possible to analyse historic developments in Canada, as recent as those of 1919, with real detachment.

K. W. McNAUGHT

United College.

*A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals of Anne Langton.* Edited by H. H. LANGTON. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. 1950. Pp. xv, 249. (\$3.00)

TWENTY-FOUR years ago there was published *Early Days in Upper Canada*, mainly the letters of John Langton, a gentleman-farmer who had settled on the shore of Sturgeon Lake, Upper Canada. This immediately became a classic. It described vividly and entertainingly the life, with its successes and failures, of one of the several educated young men who had taken up land on a section of the Kawartha Lakes—a good life for an energetic young man, but one which unfortunately brought little financial reward. We were introduced to the progenitors of several well-known Ontario families: the names Boyd, Dennistoun, Sawers, Hamilton, Wallis, and Langton are all familiar. All were recent immigrants, and most farmed land not far from Fenelon Falls.

Now we have a companion volume: the journals and extracts of letters of Anne Langton, John's older sister, together with some letters of other members of the family. The period covered is from 1837 to 1846. In 1904 a more complete version of Anne's letters was published under the title *Langton Records*, but this book was produced for private circulation only, and is now not easily obtainable; the present publication brings the letters to a wider public. Written from the feminine point of view, Anne's letters are complementary to John's: we are in the same region; we meet the same people; but the subjects with which the writer deals are such matters as the improvements to the house, the furnishings, Anne's efforts to teach the nearby children, the neighbours, the church at "The Falls," the fevers and agues which were so common, the unending household chores, and the perennial servant-problem.

This book has not the interest of *Early Days*. Anne was a devoted daughter and sister, a most industrious housekeeper, a thoroughly good woman. And no

woman who left England voluntarily to live on a pioneer farm could have lacked the spirit of adventure. Moreover, she made a real contribution to community life. She had a sense of humour, too—and needed it. But at an early age she had been afflicted with deafness, and because of this she was probably somewhat self-conscious and retiring. One is sometimes given the impression that she writes as she feels that a middle-aged spinster should write (she was in her middle thirties), sometimes almost primly. Here is her comment on young Mossom Boyd: "He is a favourite of mine; he is not brilliant or animated, but has much goodness and kindness, and simplicity of character, and is an example to all our young men for industry, attention to business, and study of economy. He is about five-or-six-and-twenty."

On the other hand, probably also because of her affliction, she had an intense interest in her surroundings, particularly in nature, and this gives to her writings an undoubted charm. This interest she has been able to pass on to us, not only through what she wrote but through her sketches, several of which are reproduced as illustrations. And she has left us a picture of the particular kind of pioneer life she lived which we could get in no other way.

The editor appears to be somewhat at sea with regard to the School Act of 1841: the five-line paragraph on page 192 contains several errors. And is it correct to speak of the act of the Legislature establishing District Councils as "a new arrangement of Lord Sydenham's"? Incidentally, members of District Councils were elected, not "appointed by the government" (pp. 193 and 237). The inclusion of a map, similar to that in the *Langton Records*, would have been helpful. Otherwise the editing is commendable.

GEORGE W. SPRAGGE

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Toronto.

*Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1947-1948.* Québec: Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi. Pp. 362.

THIS is the twenty-eighth volume of the series and it maintains the high standard set by preceding volumes. It presents a menu varied and interesting for the student of the later French and the early British regimes.

Considerably more than half of the work is devoted to a reproduction from the Archives Nationales in Paris of correspondence between the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, and the king, the minister, and the Conseil de Marine in Paris. In a number of the letters and memoirs Michel Bégon, the intendant of New France, is associated with the governor as writer or recipient. These documents cover the years from 1712 to 1716 when the colony was beginning to recover from the stress of the War of the Spanish Succession and the foundations were being laid for the most prolonged period of peace and relative prosperity in its history, the "golden age" of New France. Their contents are a mine of materials research in which will afford information on almost every aspect of the life of New France and its government.

Much slighter as source material, but not less interesting, are the accounts of two journeys from Paris to Montreal in 1737 and 1741 by two Sulpician priests, Father Joseph Dargent and Father Clement Pagés. Here we have the usual narratives of scenes and events in old France on the way to the port of embarkation, the stories of the prolonged and often trying voyage across the Atlantic, and the initial impressions of the New World where the travellers were to spend the rest of their days. Though the earlier narrative is more entertainingly written, the second gains

importance from the fact that it affords glimpses of Mgr de Pontbriand, Bishop of Quebec from 1741 to 1760, who was a fellow passenger of the writer. Both documents are reproduced from the Archives of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris and are worthwhile minor additions to Canadian travel literature.

On the British period the *Rapport* presents two valuable but very different sources: an inventory of the property of the Honourable Luc Lacorne de Saint-Luc as recorded by a notary about a month after his death on October 1, 1784, and the correspondence of five vicars-general with the bishops of Quebec from 1761 to 1816.

The inventory is reproduced from the Archives Judiciaires de Montréal with an appropriate introductory note from the pen of Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, Chief Archivist of the Palais de Justice in Montreal. After three marriages, various vicissitudes of the fur trade, war, and shipwreck, Lacorne ended his days full of honour as a member of the Legislative Council of Quebec and one of the wealthiest men in the province. The inventory fills some thirty-four pages of fine print and is an excellent hunting-ground for the social and economic historian.

The letters which compose the correspondence of the five vicars-general with the bishops of Quebec are drawn from the Archives of the Archbishopric of Montreal and are suitably prefaced with an historical note by Father L.-A. Desrosiers. The *Rapport* does not give the complete text of the letters but simply a summary of each with occasional quotations. The serious research student in this period therefore will have to have recourse to the Archives themselves for detailed study of these documents. Nevertheless, it is most useful to have such a careful indication of the nature of this valuable body of material, for the decades following the establishment of British rule were so crucial in Canadian history and the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church were a factor of such importance in the shaping of events as to make most welcome any aid to the fuller understanding of the period.

The *Rapport* is provided with a table of contents and two indexes, one of persons and one of places. It constitutes a substantial increment to the now very impressive body of sources which have been placed at the disposal of the student of Canadian history by the distinguished labours of the archivists of the Province of Quebec.

M. H. LONG

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*The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. XIV. The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-14 (Continued).* Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. v, 915. (\$2.75)

THIS volume continues and supplements the material found in volume XIII, 1803-6, already reviewed (C.H.R., Dec., 1949, 358-60), and follows a similar pattern of chronological arrangement and treatment, with the exception of pages 50-5. The index of 100 pages, double column, is very well done. Facing page 764 is a sketch map of the Missouri Territory.

The documents included cover a wide range of subjects, but the major emphasis is on Indian relations and the fur trade. Many of them are based on wild rumours and hearsay evidence, but even these illustrate vividly the growing tension that culminated in the War of 1812. The first document might be said to set the stage for and explain many of the administrative difficulties of the era in that disturbed section of the country. It shows the average settler of French origin indifferent to politics and entirely satisfied with the policy that united civil and military control



in the hands of one man, a policy "congenial to their habits," but the more opulent, who had enjoyed a growing influence and prestige during the Spanish régime, were strongly resentful of their changed circumstances. The great mass of the American settlers are pictured as fugitives from justice, a restless race of pioneer people, prone to violence and "contempt of all judicial authority," totally unfitted for the responsibility of office but demanding full citizenship of the United States and the grant of a representative form of government. Other documents report the return of Captains Clark and Lewis from the Pacific Coast, having "fully accomplished the object of their mission"; Lewis's subsequent appointment as Governor of Louisiana Territory in 1807 and his death by suicide in October, 1809 (p. 332); legislation creating the Territory of Missouri in 1812 (p. 548); and the appointment of Clark as its Governor (p. 679). There is the usual flood of applications for political appointments, and petitions for federal support of education, and a suggested list of salaries for federal appointees in Louisiana Territory (p. 492) that is in striking contrast with the scale of salaries in contemporary Canada. The Post Office is severely criticized because of constant delays and frequent loss of mail: "... all is old before it reaches us" (pp. 455-6). The land situation which affected the interests of every individual in Louisiana Territory was so confused that, even after years of American possession, the Land Commissioners rejected more than two-thirds of the claims (p. 471), and by so doing "weakened the people's confidence in the rectitude of government."

Indian relations and the fur trade are inextricably interrelated and occupy a role of major importance, if not of international significance, in the history of the period. Both French and Spaniards, by modern fifth-column methods, endeavoured to undermine Indian loyalty to the United States. Of the French, Governor Howard writes in 1812: "... I have no confidence in the sincerity of the French population of this country generally; I now view them as enemies in heart, and ready to seize the first occasion which promises certainty of success" (p. 594). But it is the Canadian traders whom he fears most; on them the Indians "are absolutely dependent" and from them he anticipates "all our pending evils on the frontier" (p. 200). Determined to secure control of the whole Indian and fur trade of the Missouri region, they formed a company composed of the "N-W Coy., Forsyth, Richardson and Coy., Parker Girard, Ogelvy and Coy., and Andrew McGill" and others of Montreal (pp. 122-3), with headquarters at Mackinac. The moving spirit was "the noted Robert Dickson," operating from *Prairie-du-Chien*, "the metropolis of British traders," the distributing centre of British goods and base of infiltration southwards into Indian territory, through which, if reports be true, Dickson moved rapidly and ceaselessly from tribe to tribe, distributing presents, powder, and promises (p. 746), and at the same time raising an Indian force to help the British on the Great Lakes (p. 768).

To frustrate these designs of Dickson and his compatriots, the American government decided on a fourfold plan of action. Federal officials were instructed to do everything possible to win Indian friendship and confidence, deal justly with them, and heal "all breaches that exist or may hereafter exist between the Indians ... and the citizens," discourage the desultory tribal warfare (p. 412), prevent the sale of spirituous liquor to them, and instruct them in agriculture and the arts of peace (p. 444). To Governor Clark such advice was largely a counsel of despair, since "nine out of ten of the Indian traders have no respect for our laws" (p. 446), the government itself had violated its solemn promises and permitted whites to settle on Indian lands (pp. 111, 445), and killed their chiefs without conceding reciprocity in kind (p. 571). As for preventing intertribal wars, Clark was convinced

that universal peace among the Indians would be "a signal for war with us" (p. 415); Governor Howard recommended the use of force (pp. 505, 611). To eliminate the Canadian traders, two large American companies were sent into Missouri Territory (p. 122); the Canadians were to be deprived of the use of *Prairie-du-Chien* (p. 746); and in view of the defective militia laws, companies of Rangers were to be enrolled for the protection of exposed settlements (p. 519) until regular troops could take control (p. 593).

Instead of peace there was strife. For years Indian prophets had been sowing the seeds of racial suspicion and hatred, encouraging the murder of American citizens and the destruction of American property. The year 1812 saw Indian hostilities "more serious than any we have known since the peace of '94" (p. 531). "The whole body of Indians in this country appears to be united" (p. 570), and confident of victory in view of "the entire failure of our arms on the Upper Lakes . . . , the disaster of Hull's army, the fall of Chicago and Mackinac" (p. 593). And in 1814 "the most destructive Indian war is now carried on" (786).

The Treaty of Ghent restored the *status quo ante* between Great Britain and the United States. But there was no *status quo* for the Indians; beaten on every front, they gave up fighting, adopted the white man's mode of living, and became agriculturists. Yet American nationalism and greed for land disregarded the dictates of humanity and drove the Indians ever westward.

This volume lives up to the high standards of its predecessors.

NORMAN MACDONALD

McMaster University.

*The Directive in History.* By HENRY NELSON WIEMAN. (Phoenix series, edited by JAMES LUTHER ADAMS, I.) Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press [Toronto: Burns and MacEachern]. 1949. Pp. xx, 138. (\$2.25)

*The Heritage of the Reformation.* By WILHELM PAUCK. (Phoenix series, edited by JAMES LUTHER ADAMS, II.) Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press; Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press [Toronto: Burns and MacEachern]. 1950. Pp. 312. (\$4.50)

ONE of my colleagues tells me, referring to Professor Wieman's book, "Of the writing of such books there is no end at the present time." This of course is true; and the reason for such ceaseless effort is obvious enough. Plunged deeper and deeper every day into a welter of conflicting ideas and values, we seek eagerly, even frantically, for some way out, for some meaningful pattern that will help us to guide our steps, to see what history means and where we are going.

Professor Wieman's book is the first volume of a new series, "The Phoenix Series," which will be devoted, in the spirit of "religious liberalism," to a consideration of "the issues of philosophy, of religion and theology in more than an abstract, a merely technical way. It will deal with them as they relate to the concrete and timely concerns of historical study, of social ethics, of art, and of the natural and social sciences."

The author has been moved to write this book because he feels with Toynbee and many others that we have reached that stage in civilization where a close juxtaposition of diverse cultures has brought about confusion and chaos in the minds of men to such a degree that misdirected technological power will soon destroy our civilization unless a religious rejuvenation takes place. His purpose is to discover upon what basis that rejuvenation can happen. The importance of the

book to the historian is this: If the author can find a "directive in history," applicable to the present and the future, it must also be valid as a basis for the interpretation of the past. Professor Wieman believes that by reasoning from the evidence of history, psychology, sociology, and the natural sciences he has been able to find such a directive in history, one which is discoverable by man's intelligence everywhere, and which is "naturalistic," that is, free of the taint of supernaturalism.

Despite his aversion to the supernatural the author asserts that there is a "creative process" at work in history. Creation is always going on but the creative process needs and uses men for its purposes. These aims may not be known to men but the conditions requisite to the best functioning of the creative process may. When men maintain these conditions, and ally themselves with the working of the creative process, then the great creative moments in history occur. If men allow conditions to arise which balk the creative process and fail to accord with its requirements, then decline and retrogression set in. Thus it is only necessary to analyse the conditions under which great creative advances have been made to know what must be done to evoke such development. From such an analysis Professor Wieman emerges with the concept of the "moral law," in the light of which both individual and social good must be seen. It is composed of principles such as love, justice, and freedom; it is one and the same at all times, everywhere, and for all people; and it is always mandatory. To defy it is "evil," and causes conditions which hold up or reverse the creative process. Man in obedience to the moral law will be in accordance with the creative process; hence there can be a steady development of a richer and more abundant life for all. Man in defiance of the moral law brings his civilization to ruin.

This is a brave attempt to rear a moral imperative on the foundation of science; one, it is hoped, that will enable man to overcome the crucial situation of civilization which now faces him. Yet, though far more profound in its understanding of human nature and society, it reminds one strongly of the similar attempts made by the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century, who tried to persuade men of the existence of a "natural religion" which was to provide the natural and reasonable basis of a rational and humane world society. The fate of the appeal to mankind by the advocates of natural religion is too well known to halt over. Its failure is consigned to the pages of history books. One wonders if a twentieth-century version of the same effort, no matter how much more penetrating in its analysis of human nature, is likely to prove any more effective. Moving men to overcome the conflicts, prejudices, and differences that separate them purely by intellectual mandate has always been a hopeless task. Professor Wieman has not made it any more likely to succeed by depersonalizing his "God" into a "creative process." Does he really expect men to give themselves to an abstraction?

This book is an excellent example of the type of difficulties in which naturalistic thinkers necessarily become involved. As such it should be carefully considered by historians, philosophers, and all those who are concerned to find out where, if anywhere, meaning in history is really to be discovered.

Almost as if to give answer to Professor Wieman, Professor Pauck in the second volume of the "Phoenix Series," *The Heritage of the Reformation*, develops the idea that until men come once more to the understanding of human life as God-centred and God-controlled ("theonomous") no true comprehension of the meaning of history can be hoped for. Such understanding he sees as taking place necessarily through the personal responses of human individuals to the personal God; God who, for the sake of human salvation, embodied himself in the person of Jesus Christ.

"God's word," therefore, as seen in Jesus Christ, must be considered as the ultimate, certain directive for the guidance of human lives, hence of history.

This view Professor Pauck advances as a reassertion of the "prophetic message" of the leaders of the Protestant Reformation: Luther, Calvin, Butzer. To support his contention he devotes several chapters to a revaluation of the thinking of these men. In so doing the author, who is one of the leading scholars on this subject, gives us a very valuable summary of the views of the Reformers, one which makes a much-needed clarification of their position for the readers of this generation. His insistence upon the influence of Butzer, particularly in the formulation of Calvin's ideas, is a new emphasis. The most important point historically in Professor Pauck's presentation, though it is not wholly new, is that the Protestant Reformation was first of all an attempt to recall the Roman Catholic Church to a new sense of the meaning of the great prophetic message of Christianity; and that, secondly, it was fundamentally opposed to the secular and worldly outlook of the Renaissance. Thus in the period of transition there existed, and there has ever since, a three-way struggle between the Protestants, the Roman Catholics, and the upholders of Renaissance secularism.

In the second part of his book Professor Pauck makes a penetrating analysis of the general position of Protestantism, especially with reference to its relations with Roman Catholicism. He sets forth sixteenth-century Protestant views on the Council of Trent, and then proceeds to make an answer to the "Catholic critique of Protestantism." In so doing he draws the line so sharply that one wonders if he has forgotten the common core of Christianity which is possessed by both Protestants and Roman Catholics, and which they hold in common against the secularists. From other references we realize that he has not forgotten this but he is so certain that the future of Christian development lies with a particular type of Protestantism that he obscures this fact. Here is one of the most debatable parts of this book.

Having discussed the vital significance of religious tolerance, and the relation of the Christian message to democracy, Professor Pauck devotes his third and final section to an exposition of the situation of Protestantism today. He places himself finally midway between the "neo-orthodox" Protestant thinkers such as Barth and Brunner and the "radical theological liberals" such as Professor Wieman, and in the camp of the "new liberals" who look hopefully to the emergence of a new "ecumenical theology." This theology, which will combine the best elements of both the other views, is rising, he contends, in connexion with the ecumenical movement. It will be "modern" in the sense that it will not spurn the findings of modern science; yet it will hold to the fundamental prophetic message of Christianity.

Whatever one's own religious views, this book deserves to be studied with great care by all students of the Reformation, and of modern religious history. It is also of prime importance to everyone who wishes to comprehend something of the very serious religious thinking that is being called forth by our present critical situation. This is a book that will provoke much discussion and will arouse strong dissent in many parts, but it will also command high respect as a first-rate, honest statement of opinion by an outstanding scholar.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto.

*Empire and Communications.* By H. A. INNIS. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1950. Pp. 230. (\$3.25)

THIS book is very interesting and very valuable. Its purpose is to suggest "the significance of communication to modern civilization." It analyses the continual conflict between the oral tradition and the written word. Consequently, the term "communication" in this book does not mean such physical avenues of communication as roads and rivers, which have been considered by other writers as the chief sources of civilization.

Innis examines the pertinent facts relating to the main empires, beginning with Egypt, continuing with Babylonia, Greece, and Rome, and coming down to our modern world. He traces the evolution of the written word from clay tablets, papyrus, then parchment, ending with paper. The purpose is to show the influence of these various means of communication on the origin, progress, and decadence of various empires.

This is one more means of cutting a cross-section through the many strata of civilization. The man who undertakes such research work is bound to neglect other factors and to emphasize his own approach. The specialist will be able to put the author's findings in their proper perspective; the layman could hardly do so. The book seems to have been written for the specialist; it is very much condensed and sometimes it is hard to find the thread connecting two successive paragraphs or sentences. Another difficulty is the frequent use of the adverbs "probably," "possibly," "apparently." Of course, the specialist will see in these a starting-point for further research, but the layman may think they impair the solidity of the argument.

One may question the measure of influence said to be exerted by new ideas appearing in the ancient world, and the amount of time required for such ideas to penetrate the majority of a given people. Today we have an abundance of means of communication: books, tracts, magazines, newspapers, radio, schools, meetings; yet it takes many years before a new idea can get into the minds of the people. In the ancient world it must have been a much longer time.

These remarks, or rather question marks, do not in any way affect the value of the book, which remains a sound contribution to the history of civilization. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his researches and will in time produce a larger book, which even the layman will be able to read, digest, and assimilate.

ARTHUR MAHEUX

Laval University.

*Hawkins of Plymouth: A New History of Sir John Hawkins and of Other Members of his Family Prominent in Tudor England.* By JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. London: Adam and Charles Black [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1949. Pp. xi, 348. (\$5.25)

DR. WILLIAMSON has written a second book about Sir John Hawkins in order to include new material from Spanish and Mexican archives which was not available when he wrote the first one in 1927 but which has since been published by the Hakluyt Society or made available to him in manuscript. The chief effect of the Spanish records is to substantiate the view which Dr. Williamson put forward in opposition to Froude, namely that Hawkins was at least as noble a character as any who lived in his age and was better than most of his contemporaries. Al-

though at times the new work reads like special pleading (for instance, it glosses over the unpleasant conditions of the blacks who fell into Hawkins's hands), Dr. Williamson adequately proves his case.

The book largely follows the form of the previous work on Hawkins, even, in many parts, to the arrangement of the paragraphs; but it has been completely rewritten from beginning to end in order to appeal to the non-academic reader. The result is pleasing. The author's pen has grown lighter with time and yet has gained in authority. He has introduced much magnificent colour based on his deep understanding of the atmosphere of the period.

The main thesis of the book is that Elizabeth's grand strategy was skilfully planned with an eye to a long-term future. The Elizabethan achievement was not the result of rugged individual effort which accidentally fell into a pattern, but was carefully directed from the centre. This is something which very much needs saying. We have been far too prone to seek to ascribe every historical action to a selfish private motive, and to ignore the fact that, particularly in great periods like this, many men and women had wider interests and a wider vision. The fact that patriotism could be profitable has obscured the fact that there was patriotism underneath.

Dr. Williamson, with his patent love of England, of the Empire, and of the sea, sets the motives of the Elizabethan adventurers in their proper perspective. He shows that the origins of modern English liberty are to be found in the determination of the Elizabethans to resist a universal church and that this was not due solely to greed. He writes with such zest that most people will forgive him for frequently giving to English Protestants, and especially to his hero John Hawkins, the benefit of the doubt where the evidence is meagre.

One important difference in the new book is the introduction of speculative argument. Two of the author's theories strike the reader's imagination. Dr. Williamson has enlarged a little on ideas at which he first hinted in *The Age of Drake*. He suggests that from the very beginning of John Hawkins's attempt to open up the Spanish Main to English trade the Queen was behind him and that they had in mind the idea of offering to the Spaniards as a *quid pro quo* the protection of English naval strength against the French privateers, who were disturbing the peace of the Spanish Caribbean colonies. Dr. Williamson also suggests that it is possible that Drake's voyage of circumnavigation began as part of a much bigger plan to seize and hold the Isthmus of Panama permanently with the aid of a "protectorate" of the Cimaroons, the Negroes who had escaped from Spanish slavery. The plan misfired because Oxenham, who sailed to the Spanish Main with the preliminary expedition in 1576, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Before Oxenham's fate was known, Drake sailed to the west and Gilbert followed on a venture the destination of which is not known but which may have been part of the grand scheme. Drake went on to circumnavigate the world but Gilbert fell in with a Spanish fleet and returned within a few months. All this is interesting theory but cannot be proved beyond all shadow of doubt.

One minor point needs correction. Dr. Williamson follows the local historians of Plymouth, R. N. Worth and C. W. Bracken, in asserting that a town wall was built around Plymouth late in the sixteenth century. Such a wall was projected but there is no evidence that it was ever built. Financial considerations made it impossible. All that was undertaken of the original plan was the construction of the fort on Plymouth Hoe which was garrisoned in 1596. Even that was on a smaller scale than the fort which had first been projected and, although the fort was oper-

ational during the Spanish war, it still remained unfinished in the reign of James I. As Dr. Williamson himself shows adequately in other connexions, the Elizabethan state was too impoverished to undertake expensive works of construction. A town wall at Plymouth was beyond its means.

R. A. PRESTON

The Royal Military College of Canada.

*A New View of Society.* By ROBERT OWEN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press [Toronto: Burns and MacEachern]. 1948. Pp. viii, 184. (\$2.50)

THIS volume, reproduced in facsimile from the third edition of 1817, contains, directly or by implication, most of Robert Owen's theories of human nature and society. The subtitle, "Essays on the Formation of Human Character," gives a rather better clue to the argument than does the main title. For these essays reveal the champion of environmentalism in full regalia. In language that at times seems to out-Bentham Bentham (Francis Place and James Mill examined the text before publication) he asserts that of all materials the stuff of human nature is most malleable. "The character of man," he announces in the familiar formula, "is, without a single exception, always formed for him" and, therefore, "Any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means." In the age-old nature-versus-nurture controversy Robert Owen unhesitatingly enlists on the side of nurture.

In the perspective of nearly a century and a half, Owen's doctrines seem a curious amalgam of perceptiveness and credulity, of shrewd commonsense and moonshine. One is again impressed by how thoroughly eighteenth century he was, sharing in, and indeed almost caricaturing, its insights and fallacies alike. In his study of the human animal he sees only an agreeably simple little mechanism that is infinitely responsive to whatever stimuli are applied. Those darker recesses of human nature which modern psychology has explored were to him unknown and, indeed, unsuspected terrain. One of the more entertaining imaginary conversations of modern history would bring together Robert Owen and Sigmund Freud to compare notes on the whys of human behaviour. But even after Owen's view of human nature has been rejected, a good deal remains. For example, his stress on the first two or three years, even the first few months, of life as a crucial period in the development of personality anticipates the findings of latter-day psychologists. And, in a larger field, his claim that the characters of nations and societies can be reconstructed may not be ignored as readily as would have been possible a century ago. The plain truth of it is that, for better or more probably worse, the character of communities has been changed before our eyes by techniques more skilful and sinister than Owen could have imagined.

Whatever one's opinion of Owen's theoretical premises, his practical proposals were often intelligent and sensible. Not only that, but he had already put many of his ideas to the test and had demonstrated their validity. His account in the second essay of his own reforms, social and educational, at New Lanark caught the eye of numbers of his contemporaries. To be sure, many of these were later alienated as his attitude towards religion emerged more clearly, though this is, in fact, clear enough in the *New View*. His specific educational proposals show a genuine understanding of children, as well as a measure of statesmanship. His advocacy, for example, of a new government department of education which would supervise a national educational system "for the poor and uninstructed" places him well ahead



of his time. No less foreseeing was his plea for the establishment of teacher training institutions which would provide for the staffing of the new national system.

Although in these essays he does not venture on a comprehensive criticism of the new industrialism, Owen is entirely aware of its shortcomings. And here again his proposals, however inclusive they may have been thought by the socialist Owen, are interesting and imaginative. No writer who, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, calls for a comprehensive system of labour statistics and extensive public works for the unemployed can be dismissed as merely a well-intentioned crank.

DAVID OWEN

Harvard University.

*Germany's Drive to the West (Drang nach Westen): A Study of Germany's Western War Aims during the First World War.* By HANS W. GATZKE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1950. Pp. x, 316. (\$5.00)

THIS is a very solid survey of German war aims towards the west, the *Drang nach Westen*, during the war of 1914-18, based on a wide variety of first hand sources. Although the general (and in part the particular) nature of these aims was familiar enough, this appears to be the first systematic survey in English of their definition and more particularly their development during the four years of war. One could have wished for a little more reference to the pre-war definition of such aims, as in the activities of the Pan-German League, and also to the balance, or rivalry, between eastern and western war aims, of which the author is well aware; but that perhaps would have extended the study too widely. Yet one of the most interesting revelations of the book to this reviewer is of the extent to which German capital had penetrated French heavy industry before 1914.

The volume follows the evolution of German western war aims chronologically in five chapters, beginning with their early definition by the various political parties and interests, in relation to the attitude taken by the government led by Bethmann-Hollweg from 1914 to 1917, and then by his less capable successors. One may discern five major groups in the development of these aims: the government (including the Emperor, whose role was a declining one), the political parties, the army leaders, the western industrialists, and the public in so far as it was not wholly represented in the preceding groups. But these groups are of course not separated or even distinguishable, their opinions were naturally affected by the course of the war, and those who made the most noise were not necessarily the most influential. The noise indeed was both considerable and sustained, as Belgium and northern France were overrun, and the way seemingly open to further conquests, so that Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg had a hard time to keep his feet, and admitted, in 1915, that "the psychology of our people has been poisoned by boasting during the last twenty-five years." The analysis of the views of the various political parties, from the Conservatives with their preference for eastern gains, the National Liberals with their more largely western and industrial desires, the wobbling but at least semi-predatory Centre, across to that part of the Social Democratic party which to its honour disavowed annexation, is of great interest but cannot be followed here, any more than the activities of the "pressure groups," the War Aims Movement, the Pan-German League, or the so-called Independent Committee, with its large following of intellectuals, which was really a child of the western industrialists. It was the alliance of these industrialists, anxious for the French iron mines, with the army leaders, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, which in the end drove out Bethmann-

Hollweg and marked the full victory of the annexationists. Behind it also was the fear of political reform at home: "We cannot live with such a franchise" remarked Ludendorff of the proposed equalization of the voting system in Prussia. He preferred the mighty gamble of 1918, and lost. The general tone of the book is remarkably free from any sympathy with such views. But it is a pity to give such hostages to critics as the following: "This is not the place to go into the justification or advisability of any such plans for German westward expansion. But if viewed not merely as an extension of the Prusso-German power, but as an attempt at re-uniting and reintegrating political areas which historically, ethnically, geographically (especially in regard to lines of communication), and economically seem predestined for some kind of union, the Drang nach Westen loses some of its sinister implications" (p. 4). To which one may reply, some, but none worth mentioning. And on page 288, "The Germans had to shoulder the whole burden of misery and destruction which the war had caused to all the world." Hardly!

R. FLENLEY

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#### SHORTER NOTICES

*A Concise Economic History of Britain from the Earliest Times to 1750.* By Sir JOHN CLAPHAM. Cambridge: At the University Press (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada). 1949. Pp. xv, 324. (\$2.40)

THERE is no lack of general treatises on English economic history. Still, the student who at one time or another has read himself into that somewhat forbidding, yet on closer acquaintance so fascinating, epic in three volumes, Professor Clapham's *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, will open this posthumous work of the great English scholar with keen expectations. He will not be disappointed. Here is the same sovereign command of historical detail; the same supreme skill in the selection and synthesis of evidence; the same wide-awake sense of criticism which never once permits mere hypotheses to pass for facts; and perhaps an even more perfect mastery of expression. Indeed, one of the chief merits of this book is its singularly felicitous style: sometimes wistful, often humorous, always vivid and lucid.

As to the contents, no brief review can hope to do justice to the wealth of factual information embodied in these pages. Suffice it to say that the author fully redeems the promise held out in the title. The desperate shortage of trustworthy evidence on the Scottish and Welsh economies of earlier times has not deterred Professor Clapham from extending his purview to the Celtic north and west; he really does offer the reader an economic history of *Britain*, not merely of England. Another uncommon but gratifying feature of this volume is its wide chronological scope. It contains not only a well-documented chapter on Roman Britain, but also an admirable summary of what prehistoric archaeology has revealed about life and work in the British Isles prior to the advent of the Romans.

Altogether, it is safe to predict that Sir John Clapham's last opus will still be in the hands of grateful students when dust will have gathered on many another volume of economic history.

KARL F. HELLEINER

The University of Toronto.

*The University of New Brunswick Memorial Volume, Published on the Occasion of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Granting of the First Charter of Incorporation, February 12th, 1800.* Edited by ALFRED G. BAILEY. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick. 1950. Pp. 125.

NEARLY all the histories of Canadian universities have been written in connexion with the celebration of anniversaries, and bear the marks of their origin. The present volume is no exception to the rule. The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the granting of the first charter of the University of New Brunswick is, however, a landmark in the history of higher education in Canada, and is worthy of celebration. The volume is prefaced with a "message" from Lord Beaverbrook, who has been such a fairy godfather to the University of New Brunswick, and from the prime minister of New Brunswick, the Honourable J. B. McNair, as well as a "foreword" by President Trueman, and a "preface" by the editor, Dean Bailey. After these introductory salvoes, there are a number of chapters by Dean Bailey and other members of the staff of the University on the successive phases of the history of the University and on the history of its various faculties. This arrangement has resulted in a good deal of unnecessary repetition; and, as is usual with the co-operative writing of history, the various chapters are of very uneven value. Dean Bailey's introductory chapter is so good that one wishes he had written the whole volume, though he might have found this difficult, since two of the most distinguished figures in the history of the University were his paternal and maternal grandfathers, Professor Loring Woart Bailey and Baron d'Avray. One might also single out for special praise the admirable chapter on "King's College, Fredericton" by Miss Frances A. Firth. I could wish that I had had Miss Firth's researches at my disposal when I was writing the history of King's College, Toronto. On the other hand, the chapter on "The Development of the Law School" is little more than a catalogue of names.

An index would have added to the usefulness of the record.

W. S. WALLACE

The University of Toronto Library.

*Hull, 1800-1950.* By LUCIEN BRAULT. Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1950. Pp. 262.

THE story of the rise of Hull from Indian country to thriving urban centre is a commentary on the evolution of Canada from frontier to mature industrial economy. It is also a case study in the displacement of Anglo-Saxon by French population. Like the Eastern Townships, Hull was founded by Anglo-Saxons at the end of the eighteenth century. Not until 1868 was there a French-Canadian on the municipal council; but the city has not had an Anglo-Saxon mayor in the last fifty years.

The arrangement of M. Brault's volume makes it impossible for him to trace chronologically the course of the city's development. Instead of a history of Hull he has written a series of small histories of various phases of the city's growth: administration, justice, municipal services, industry, and so on. The only exception to this topical arrangement is the first chapter, "Origine," which carried the story of Hull from its establishment to about 1823. The excellence of this chapter leads this reviewer to regret that M. Brault did not continue the chronological treatment throughout the book. "Origine" is the saga of Philemon Wright who was the dominant influence from the time of his arrival in 1799 with thirty-seven men, five women, twenty-one children, fourteen horses, and eight cattle until his death in 1839. Wright combined the functions of landlord, merchant, in-

dustrialist, hotel-keeper, member of parliament, justice of the peace, and patriarch. The development of the settlement, says M. Brault, was the result of "le travail, l'initiative et l'esprit d'entreprise du chef, Philemon Wright." Of equal significance after 1850 was the career of E. B. Eddy whose company was so largely responsible for the continuing rise of Hull.

Despite the disadvantages of arrangement M. Brault's volume has its good qualities. It is lucid and well written and has occasional flashes of humour. Having mentioned that Irish labourers on the Rideau Canal patronized Wright's tavern, M. Brault remarks "les *Canalers* furent les premiers à tracer la voie aujourd'hui si bien connue de certains gens de la capitale." In accumulating much useful material in reference to the history of Hull, M. Brault has rendered a service to Canadian history.

Bishop's University.

D. C. MASTERS

*Rainy River Country: A Brief History of the Region Bordering Minnesota and Ontario.* By GRACE LEE NUTE. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1950. Pp. xiii, 143. (\$2.00)

THIS agreeably written but all-too-brief historical sketch of the Rainy River region is a companion volume to Dr. Nute's popular *The Voyageur's Highway* which appeared in 1941. The earlier study was concerned with the borderland east of Rainy Lake; the present one is devoted to the evolution of the area between that lake and Lake of the Woods.

After a short account of the geological history of the region, Dr. Nute traces the careers of the successive groups of men who have dwelt in it and lived off its abundant natural resources. Furs, fish, and timber have been its three staple products and if the first is no longer important commercially, fishing and lumbering, particularly the latter, remain its basic industries, though the country is perhaps more widely known as a paradise for tourists.

Based on careful research, clear in style, rich in incident from the region's colorful past, well illustrated with photographs, drawings, and maps, *Rainy River Country* is a welcome addition to the growing number of regional histories. Its publication has been made possible by a gift from the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company whose activities loom large in its pages as they do in the life of the region itself.

Regina College,  
The University of Saskatchewan.

W. R. GRAHAM

*Newfoundland, 10th Province of Canada.* By JOHN PARKER. London: Lincolns-Prager. 1950. Pp. 157. (10s. 6d.)

THIS is an interesting account of Canada's newest province, intended primarily for the general reader rather than for the specialist. In the chapters on fisheries, lumbering, mining, agriculture, commerce, transportation, tourism, co-operatives and unions, education, health and social services, the reader will find considerable information on conditions in Newfoundland, particularly during the past decade and a half. For the student of political and constitutional history there are expositions of the machinery of government and of the political changes since 1934.

Mr. Parker praises the Commission government for its attempt to plan and direct the development of Newfoundland and he recommends to future provincial administrations a role of aggressive leadership in economic affairs.

M. ZASLOW

Carleton College.

*Franklin of the Arctic: A Life of Adventure.* By RICHARD S. LAMBERT. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1949. Pp. x, 354. (\$3.50)

THIS life of Sir John Franklin is designed for students in our public and secondary schools. In story form it narrates the more spectacular episodes in the life of one of the most famous and tragic figures in the annals of the Arctic. On the whole it may be said to conform very closely to the historical facts, although it is not free from a certain degree of hero worship—not unpardonable in the case of such a man as Sir John. It is a very readable, interesting account which should prove popular with the readers it is intended for and even with many of a more mature age. The maps by Julius Griffith and the pictures are very commendable. Valuable also is the glossary of people, places, and ships mentioned in the book. There is little doubt that many readers would enjoy a similar treatment by the author of the search for Franklin which is only cursorily treated in this work.

T. J. OLESON

United College.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

- AMERY, L. S. *External relations of the Commonwealth* (United Empire, XLI (3), May-June, 1950, 149-52). Discusses the place of the British Commonwealth in world affairs.
- CARRINGTON, C. E. *The British overseas: Exploits of a nation of shopkeepers*. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 1092. \$9.00. To be reviewed later.
- CARTER, GWENDOLYN M. *The Commonwealth in the United Nations* (International organization, IV (2), May, 1950, 247-60). The author considers the Commonwealth "to be as important at the present time to its own members, and to the international community, as it has ever been in history."
- COATMAN, JOHN. *The British family of nations*. London: George E. Harrap and Co. 1950. Pp. 271. \$2.50.
- FERGUSON, GEORGE V. *Canada looks on two oceans* (Listener, XLIII (1108), Apr. 20, 1950, 679). "Canada's North American position give[s] it a role different from that of the other countries in the Commonwealth."
- GRAHAM, GERALD S. *Empire of the North Atlantic: The maritime struggle for North America*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto: University of Toronto Press—Saunders. 1950. Pp. xvii, 338. \$5.00. To be reviewed later.
- GRAHAM, SIR LANCELOT. *The British Empire and the world: The Atlantic Pact* (Commonwealth and Empire review, LXXXIV (533), July, 1950, 13-16). Although only the United Kingdom and Canada are signatories of the Atlantic Pact, "all the resources of every part of the British Empire . . . will be required if the way of life for which we stand is to survive."
- GREENIDGE, C. W. W. *The British Caribbean federation* (World affairs, IV (3), July, 1950, 321-34). On the probable structure and constitution of the proposed federation.
- LOCH, SIR KENNETH. *Cultural relations in the Commonwealth and colonies* (Commonwealth and Empire review, LXXXIV (533), July, 1950, 29-32).
- MADDEN, A. F. *How colonies grow into dominions* (United Empire, XLI (3), May-June, 1950, 159-64). "From representative to responsible government, from internal responsibility to full international status, Canada pioneered this *cursus honorum* and pointed the way for the rest to follow."
- MORRIS-JONES, W. H. *New pattern of empire* (United Empire, XLI (3), May-June, 1950, 141-5). "While there has been real change within the Empire, every apparent breach with the past is really a development of some element from the past. Every landmark in the history of the Commonwealth is as much a culmination as a beginning."

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- BARKWAY, MICHAEL. *Atlantic Pact—new horizons* (Saturday night, LXV (30), May 2, 1950, 11).
- GLAZEBROOK, G. P. DET. *A history of Canadian external relations*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 449. \$4.00. See pp. 307-8.

- HARRISON, W. E. C. *Canadian-American defence* (International journal, V (3), summer, 1950, 189-200). An examination of "some of the implications of our dependence on the United States and of theirs on us."
- McCUNE, GEORGE M. and GREY, ARTHUR L., Jr. *Korea today*. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xxii, 372. \$5.00.
- O'HEARN, WALTER. *U.N. struggle for peace*. (Behind the Headlines series, X (2).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education; Canadian Institute of International Affairs. May, 1950. Pp. 20. 15c.
- POLYZOIDES, A. TH. *Korea—a lesson and a portent* (World affairs interpreter, XXI (2), summer, 1950, 191-205). On the background and significance of the Korean conflict.
- SHERWOOD, HENRY NOBLE. *Anglo-American relations* (Social studies, XLI (5), May, 1950, 198-202). "The purpose of the paper [is] to clarify the earliest relationships between the nations and to give the background for an intelligent appraisal of contemporary policy."
- WOODSIDE, WILSON. *A bold move for peace* (Saturday night, LXV (26), Apr. 4, 1950, 11, 16). On the proposal for Atlantic federal union.
- See also *External affairs* published monthly by the Canadian Department of External Affairs.

### III. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

- CHAFE, J. W. *Canada, your country*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 395. \$1.45.
- GLAZEBROOK, G. P. deT. *A short history of Canada*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1950. Pp. 238. \$2.35. To be reviewed later.
- GRÉBER, JACQUES. *L'aménagement de la capitale nationale* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XX (3), juillet-septembre, 1950, 265-71).
- HENRY, LORNE J. *Canadians: A book of biographies*. Drawings by ROBERT UNSWORTH. Toronto, New York, London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1950. Pp. 153. \$1.50. Biographies of twenty prominent Canadians, from Sir Samuel Cunard to Sir Ernest MacMillan.
- KIETLIZ-RUSKI, K. *The Canadian cultural pattern* (Dalhousie review, XXX (2), July, 1950, 169-78). The author finds in Canada an emphasis on the production of material goods and a reluctance to accept anything that does not promise immediate usefulness.
- MEIGHEN, ARTHUR. *Unrevised and unrepented: Debating speeches and others*. With a foreword by M. GRATTAN O'LEARY. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. 1949. Pp. xiii, 470. \$5.00. Reviewed on pages 309-11.
- Peoples of Canada: The racial elements of a nation* (Round table, no. 159, June, 1950, 240-6).

#### (2) Discovery and Exploration

- CONNELL-SMITH, G. *English merchants trading to the New World in the early sixteenth century* (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXII (67), May, 1950, 53-67).

#### (3) New France

- BOUCHART d'ORVAL, PAUL. *Au cœur de la Huronie: Sur les pas des Saints Martyrs Canadiens*. Montréal: Éditions du Calumet brisé. 1949. Pp. 214. Neither a biography of the Canadian martyrs, nor a history of Huronia, but rather, a description of what the author has seen in Huronia.



- CALDWELL, NORMAN W. *Fort Massac during the French and Indian War* (Illinois Historical Society journal, XLIII (2), summer, 1950, 100-19). Describes one of the main French outposts in the upper Mississippi valley, 1757 to 1763.
- FALAISE, NOËL. *Les Iles-de-la-Madeleine sous le régime français* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, IV (1), juin, 1950, 17-28).
- GARDINER, PAUL A. *The mad general who won Canada* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (13), July 1, 1950, 10-11, 41-2, 44). "Perhaps the best way to view James Wolfe is not with reverence for a demi-god but with respect for an intelligent, considerate man with human failings."
- GAUCHER, MARC. *Documents inédits: Carnet d'un Albertien* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, IV (1), juin, 1950, 90-114). "... quelques notes sur l'Émigration Française au Canada au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle."
- GIRAUD, MARCEL. *France and Louisiana in the early eighteenth century* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXXVI (4), Mar., 1950, 657-74). The early history of Louisiana reflects the difficulties which confronted France toward the end of the reign of Louis XIV.
- GLOVER, WALDO F. *Squaw-maug: A Green Mountain river* (Vermont quarterly, XVIII (2), Apr., 1950, 51-63). An attempt to identify the Indian Squaw-maug river, which formed part of the route followed by French, English, and Indian raiding parties during the colonial period.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *Colonisation au Canada sous Talon* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, IV (1), juin, 1950, 61-73). About the transformation of the colony of New France under the "Great Intendant."
- JACOBS, WILBUR R. *Diplomacy and Indian gifts: Anglo-French rivalry along the Ohio and northwest frontiers, 1748-1763*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. 208. \$5.00.
- Lettre de Talon au Père Albanel, 1671* (B.R.H., LVI (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1950, 67-70). Contains Talon's instructions to Father Albanel regarding his mission to Hudson Bay in 1671.
- ROQUEBRUNE, ROBERT LAROCHE DE. *Uniformes et drapeaux des régiments au Canada sous Louis XIV et Louis XV* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XX (3), juillet-septembre, 1950, 326-42).
- ROUSSEAU, JACQUES et ROY, ANTOINE. *La mission politique du Père Albanel à la Baie d'Hudson* (B.R.H., LVI (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1950, 71-7). On the purpose and results of the mission.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Bigot et sa bande et l'affaire du Canada*. Lévis. 1950. Pp. 370. On the trials, in France in 1763, of Bigot and others accused of profiteering during the Seven Years' War; with a list of those accused and a biographical note on each.
- WHITE, WALLACE B. *Trailing Rogers' Rangers through the firelands* (Inland seas, VI (1), spring, 1950, 18-25; VI (2), summer, 1950, 80-8). An account of the exploits of Rogers' Rangers, 1760 to 1763.
- (4) **British North America before 1867**
- CARELESS, J. M. S. (ed.). *The diary of Peter Brown* (Ontario history, XLII (3), July, 1950, 113-51). An account of the voyage and early experiences in New York of Peter Brown and his son, George, April to June, 1837.
- CHARTIER, ÉMILE. *Après "l'affaire Saint-Denis": 1<sup>er</sup>-12, décembre, 1837: D'après un, mémoire de Brown* (B.R.H., LVI (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1950, 130-47). Describes the adventures of Thomas Storrow Brown, one of the leaders of the 1837 rebellion, and his escape to Vermont.
- CLARK, DORA MAE. *George Grenville as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1763-1765* (Huntington Library quarterly, XIII (4), Aug., 1950, 383-97).

- CONE, CARL B. *The American Revolution and British imperial policy* (Social studies, XLI (4), Apr., 1950, 161-6). Suggests that the traditional view of the remarkable change produced by the American Revolution in British imperial policy is exaggerated.
- FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Patriotes de 1837-1838*. Montréal: Éditions des Dix. 1950. Pp. 433. To be reviewed later.
- FORBES, JOHN D. *Boston smuggling, 1807-1815* (American neptune, X (2), Apr., 1950, 144-54). During the war of 1812 "British armed forces in Canada were actually maintained to a considerable extent by importations from the States by disloyal and grasping Yankees."
- GALBRAITH, JOHN S. *The British and Americans at Fort Nisqually, 1846-1859* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XLI (2), Apr., 1950, 109-20). Describes the attempt of the Hudson's Bay Company, through the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, to retain the Oregon country.
- HEISLER, JOHN. *The Halifax press and B.N.A. union, 1866-1864* (Dalhousie review, XXX (2), July, 1950, 188-95).
- A letter of 1837* (Ontario history, XLII (3), July, 1950, 159-62). Describes the experiences of a young man who took part in the march against the rebel headquarters.
- MERK, FREDERICK. *The genesis of the Oregon question* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXXVI (4), Mar., 1950, 513-612). American claims to the Oregon territory were strengthened by British errors of procedure in the Astoria restoration of 1818.
- MORRISON, NEIL F. (ed.). *Portraits of the Canadian Parliament of 1850* (Ontario history, XLII (3), July, 1950, 153-8). "A detailed, eye-witness account of the Canadian Parliament of 1850," written by George Duck of Chatham, a superintendent of common schools for the Western District of Upper Canada.
- (5) **Canada since 1867**
- GAY, FRANCISQUE. *Canada, XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: aujourd'hui, demain*. Montreal: Beauchemin. [1949.] Pp. xii, 205.
- GINGERICH, MELVIN. *Jacob Y. Shantz, 1822-1909, promoter of the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba* (Mennonite quarterly review, XXIV (3), July, 1950, 230-47). Biographical notes, and some account of the settlements.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *They're killing our democracy* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (12), June 15, 1950, 10-11, 27-8). Canadian politics is "a well-meaning almost unconscious conspiracy of honest and selfless men to keep the facts of national life from the people."
- KRAHN, CORNELIUS (ed.). *Some letters of Bernard Warkentin pertaining to the migration of 1873-1875* (Mennonite quarterly review, XXIV (3), July, 1950, 248-63). An account of the Mennonite movement to western Canada and the United States, by one of its leaders.
- MACLEAN, DONALD G. *Donald Gordon* (Canadian banker, LVII (2), spring, 1950, 62-9). Biographical notes, with particular reference to Mr. Gordon's chairmanship of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.
- MEITZELL, BERNHARD-GEORG. *Caen-Falaise* (Canadian army journal, IV (1), Apr., 1950, 19-31; IV (2), May, 1950, 65-73). Narrative of the movements of the German forces in the Caen-Falaise operation, as told by a German officer who was taken prisoner by Canadian troops in August, 1944.
- Newfoundland Day, June 24th, 1950—a date to remember* (Atlantic guardian, VII (8), Aug., 1950, 11-17). "Confederation Day" in Newfoundland.
- PORTER, MCKENZIE. *The men who tried to capture Canada* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (14), July 15, 1950, 10-11, 28, 30). The attempt of German foreign agents to stir up insurrection in Canada in 1915.

- RUSCH, T. A. *Political thought of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation* (Journal of politics, XII (3), Aug., 1950, 547-69). Discusses the main points of the C.C.F. programme, and the Saskatchewan C.C.F. government record.
- SCHULL, JOSEPH. *The far distant ships: An official account of Canadian naval operations in the Second World War*. Published by authority of the Minister of National Defence. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. xix, 515. \$3.00. To be reviewed later.
- UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *Concerning Mr. King* (Canadian forum, XXX (356), Sept., 1950, 121-2, 125-7).
- WALLACE, ELISABETH. *The origin of the social welfare state in Canada, 1867-1900* (C.J.E.P.S., XVI (3), Aug., 1950, 383-93). "The origins of the modern twentieth-century interest in state action to combat problems of unemployment, old age, and poverty, and to provide labour legislation, are . . . all to be found within a few years of Confederation."
- WILGESS, L. D. *Mr. Mackenzie King: 1874-1950* (Listener, XLIV (1122), July 27, 1950).
- WILLIAMS, MENTOR L. J. K. *Paulding's sketch of the Great Lakes* (Mid-America, XXXII (2), Apr., 1950, 67-79). Reproduces an article written in 1884 by an American notable. "For those who cultivate the myth that the Canadian-American border was always a 'peaceful boundary,' Paulding's one-hundred-and-fifty-per-centum Americanism will prove something of a shock."

#### IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

##### (1) The Maritime Provinces

- ANGLIN, GERALD. *What union's done to Newfoundland* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (16), Aug. 15, 1950, 5, 51-2).
- BEATTIE, KIM. *How goes it with Newfoundland?* (Monetary times, CXVIII (8), Aug., 1950, 112-14, 116-17). A review of Newfoundland's affairs under Confederation.
- Canada, Department of Resources and Development. *Folklore of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia*. By HELEN CREIGHTON. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin no. 117.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. 163. 50c.
- HEAD, THOMAS G. *The "garden of the Gulf"* (Atlantic guardian, VII (7), July, 1950, 31-44). Describes Prince Edward Island.
- LEITCH, ADELAIDE. *Labrador voyage* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 16-19). An account of a trip by steamer and schooner along the Labrador coast as far as Nain.
- MILLER, FRANK and McCaffrey, GORDON. *Halifax: North Atlantic matron* (Saturday night, LXV (26), Apr. 4, 1950, 8-10). Notes on recent progress and development in Halifax.
- PARKER, JOHN. *Newfoundland, 10th province of Canada*. London: Lincolns-Prager. 1950. Pp. 157. 10s. 6d. Reviewed on page 328.
- PETRIE, J. R. *The impact of the sterling-dollar crisis on the Maritime economy* (C.J.E.P.S., XVI (3), Aug., 1950, 347-52).
- SCLANDERS, IAN. *Saint John: City of firsts* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (12), June 15, 1950, 8-9, 58-61). An account of the first incorporated city in British North America.
- WEEKES, MARY. *The settlement of the Gerriors* (Dalhousie review, XXX (2), July, 1950, 163-7). Account of an Acadian family that returned to Nova Scotia and founded the settlement of Tracadie.
- WUORIO, EVA-LIS. *Cape Breton: Into the land of Mod* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (13), July 1, 1950, 16-17, 30, 32).

**(2) The Province of Quebec**

- BEULLAC, PIERRE AND FABRE-SURVEYER, E. *Le centenaire du barreau de Montréal, 1849-1949*. Montréal: Ducharme. 1949. Pp. 232. \$2.00.
- BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Hull, 1800-1950*. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1950. Pp. 262. Reviewed on pages 327-8.
- CARRIÈRE, VALÉRIEN. *Histoire de l'Île Perrot, de 1662 à nos jours*. n.p. 1949. Pp. 255.
- DEAN, SIDNEY W. and MARSHALL, MARGUERITE MOOERS. *We fell in love with Quebec*. Toronto: Ryerson. 1950. Pp. 272. A combination guide and travel book.
- FABRE-SURVEYER, ÉDOUARD. *James Cuthbert, père, et ses biographes* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, IV (1), juin, 1950, 74-89). Notes on the life and on the descendants of the first seigneur of Berthier, who died in 1795.
- GAUTHIER, JOSEPH-DELPHIS. *Le Canada français et le roman américain (1826-1948)*. Paris: Tolra. [1948.] Pp. 356. French Canada as revealed in American fiction.
- LEMONNIER, LÉON. *Histoire du Canada français*. Paris: Hachette. [1949.] Pp. 448. French Canada from 1534 to the present.
- LONG, GEORGE W. *Sea to lakes on the St. Lawrence* (National geographic magazine, XCVIII (3), Sept., 1950, 323-66). Describes a trip from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Kingston, with comments on people and places.
- MARTEL, E. ALEXANDRE. *Recueil de souvenirs: Saint Ambrose de la Jeune Lorette, Loretteville (Comté de Québec), 1904-1940*. Québec: Le Courrier de Limoilou. 1949. Pp. 271. \$3.00. The history of a Quebec parish.
- MINER, HORACE. *A new epoch in rural Quebec* (American journal of sociology, LVI (1), July, 1950, 1-10). The author finds St. Denis, a once largely self-sufficient community, moving toward greater interdependence with the outside world.
- MINVILLE, ESDRAS. *L'aspect économique du problème national canadien-français* (L'actualité économique, XXVI (1), avril-juin, 1950, 48-77). "L'essentiel n'est donc pas tant de bâtir un organisme économique que de l'articuler à notre vie nationale et de l'intégrer dans notre civilisation."
- RICHARD, LOUIS. *La famille Loedel* (B.R.H., LVI (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1950, 78-89). Biographical notes on Henry Nicholas Christopher Loedel, a doctor of German birth who settled in Montreal after the Revolutionary wars, and some account of several of his distinguished descendants.
- T.-DUSSAULT, CLÉMENT. *Bois de Coulonge*. (Cahiers d'histoire no 2.) Québec: La Société historique de Québec, l'Université Laval. 1950. Pp. 20. 25c. "Une brochure qui en raconte les péripéties et fait l'histoire du domaine de Coulonge, jadis la propriété du gouverneur d'Ailleboust."
- This is Quebec* (Atlantic guardian, VII (8), August, 1950, 43-58). Historical and descriptive.
- TREMBLAY, VICTOR. *Les archives de la Société historique du Saguenay* (Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, IV (1), juin, 1950, 3-16). Includes a list of the publications of the Society, as well as a description of its historical collection.

**(3) The Province of Ontario**

- Canada, Department of Resources and Development. *Folk-lore of Waterloo County, Ontario*. By W. J. WINTERBERG. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin no. 116.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. vii, 68. 50c.
- The early history of Oil Springs* (Western Ontario historical notes, VII (1), Mar., 1950, 13-19). Reprint of an article published in 1880 in the *Illustrated Atlas of the Dominion of Canada*, describing the rise and sudden collapse of an early "boom town."
- MACKENZIE, JOHN and MACKENZIE, MARGARET. *Ontario in your car*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. 1950. Pp. 291. \$2.50. A guide book for the motorist.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Rainy River country: A brief history of the region bordering Minnesota and Ontario*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1950. Pp. xiii, 143. \$2.00. Reviewed on page 328.

*The place of meeting: Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.* (Canadian churchman, LXXVII (16), Aug. 17, 1950, 245-6). Surveys the history and present condition of Sault Ste Marie.

*A short history of Kingston as a military and naval centre*. [Kingston: Royal Military College. 1950.] Pp. 40. Booklet prepared by G. F. G. STANLEY and R. A. PRESTON for distribution to the members of the Learned Societies visiting Kingston in June, 1950.

TALMAN, J. J. (ed.) *The visitation of Bishop Strachan to the western parts of the Diocese of Toronto in 1840*. (Western Ontario history nuggets, no. 15.) London: Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario. 1950. Pp. 23.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

*Alberta, past and present* (Atlantic guardian, VII (6), June, 1950, 41-55).

BLANCHET, GUY H. *Into the unknown country* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 34-7). Account of the exploration twenty-five years ago of the waterways of the plateau lying between Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabaska.

CAMPBELL, MARJORIE WILKINS. *Who would want to live on the prairies?* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (12), June 15, 1950, 18-19, 49-50, 52).

DUNN, JAMES TAYLOR. *To Edmonton in 1892* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 3-5). Deals with the events which led to the journey to the Mackenzie delta of Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of the American consul at Winnipeg.

GRAY, JAMES H. *Calgary celebrates* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 6-11). History and description of the city founded seventy-five years ago by the North West Mounted Police.

HANKS, LUCIEN M., JR. and HANKS, JANE RICHARDSON. *Tribe under trust: A study of the Blackfoot Reserve of Alberta*. Photographs by F. GULLY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press—Saunders. 1950. Pp. xvi, 206. \$4.00.

HARVEY, RUTH. *A hundred dollars from anywhere* (Canadian banker, LVII (2), spring, 1950, 70-8). Winnipeg in the early years of the century.

*The lone canoeist of 1885* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 38-41). An account of a 200-mile canoe voyage down the Saskatchewan, taken by Surgeon-Major C. M. Douglas, V.C. From articles by Major Douglas which appeared in 1885 and 1897.

McI., L. B. *Operation Redramp* (Crowsnest, II (9), July, 1950, 4-7, 31). Relates the part played by H.M.C.S. Chippawa during the Manitoba flood.

MASTERS, D. C. *The Winnipeg general strike*. (Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development, II.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1950. Pp. xv, 159. \$3.50. Reviewed on pages 313-15.

MESSER, MARGARET. *Philip Turnor, inland surveyor* (Saskatchewan history, III (2), spring, 1950, 57-63). Account of explorations, 1778-91, by the Hudson's Bay Company's first full-time surveyor.

*Mr. Guthrie's unnatural history* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 28-30). Excerpts relating to the Canadian north, chosen by R. B. HORSEFIELD of Flin Flon, from *A New Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar of the World* (London, 1788) by WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

NEATBY, BLAIR. *The Saskatchewan Relief Commission, 1931-34* (Saskatchewan history, III (2), spring, 1950, 41-56).

PEEL, BRUCE. *Cumberland House* (Saskatchewan history, III (2), spring, 1950, 68-73).

**(5) British Columbia and the Northwest Coast**

*British Columbia, Canada's gateway to the Pacific* (Atlantic guardian, VII (5), May, 1950, 60-75).

CLARK, DOUGLAS H. *Sawmill on the Columbia* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 42-4). In 1828 the first sawmill of the Pacific northwest was built near Fort Vancouver by the Hudson's Bay Company.

STOTT, WILLIAM. *The early story of North Vancouver* (Museum and art notes, second series, I (2), Mar., 1950, 11-19).

WINTHER, OSCAR OSBURN. *The old Oregon country: A history of frontier trade, transportation, and travel*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. xvi, 348. \$7.50.

**(6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic Regions**

JONES, A. G. E. *The voyage of H.M.S. Cove, Captain James Clark Ross, 1835-36* (Polar record, V (40), July, 1950, 543-56). Details of a trip to Davis Straits, and its contribution to our knowledge of the north.

PATERSON, T. T. *The Eskimo of northern Canada* (United Empire, XLI (2), Mar.-Apr., 1950, 71-3).

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *The Arctic* (Air affairs, III (2), spring, 1950, 391-402). The Soviet Union is optimistic about the north, and its population is moving in that direction; Canadians and Americans are pessimistic, and tend to remain in the south.

WOODWARD, J. F. *The Franklin search in 1850* (Polar record, V (40), July, 1950, 532-42). About the discovery of the first traces of the Franklin expedition.

**V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS****(1) General**

*Alberta strikes oil* (Round table, no. 159, June, 1950, 268-72). The discovery of rich oil fields in Alberta will have beneficial results for the whole of Canada.

BERTON, PIERRE. *The Southams* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (12), June 15, 1950, 7, 62-4, 66; LXIII (13), July 1, 1950, 14-15, 46-7; LXIII (14), July 15, 1950, 15, 37-8, 40). "A prolific individualistic and sometimes eccentric family group, the Southams have, in about 80 years, made themselves as ubiquitous as Eaton's catalogue."

CRAICK, W. A. *Manufacturing in western Canada: Fifty years' development* (Canadian banker, LVII (2), spring, 1950, 47-61). On the increasingly important part played by the West in Canada's manufacturing industry.

HEILPERIN, MICHAEL A. *United States-Canadian partnership for the revival of multi-lateral trade* (International journal, V (3), summer, 1950, 217-29). Canada and the United States are in a position to provide effective leadership to the world in the matter of restoring multilateral trade.

KEENLEYSIDE, H. L. *The forests of Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XLI (1), July, 1950, 2-15). Background and present development of the Canadian lumbering industry.

— *Problems in the administration of Canadian resources* (C.J.E.P.S., XVI (3), August, 1950, 327-33). "Wise conservation and effective utilization should be . . . the basic principles of our resource policy."

WEEKES, E. P. *United Kingdom trade with Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XL (5), May, 1950, 194-205). Post-war difficulties and the measures being taken to overcome them.

**(4) Geography**

- HARRINGTON, RICHARD. *Journey in Arctic Quebec* (Canadian geographical journal, XLI (2), Aug., 1950, 91-104). By dog sled from Fort Harrison to Factory River.
- McFARLANE, W. J. et al. *Glacier survey in Banff and Jasper national parks, 1949* (Canadian alpine journal, XXXIII, 1950, 120-6). Report of studies being carried out by the Dominion Water and Power Bureau.
- PARKER, ELIZABETH. *Early explorers of the west* (Canadian alpine journal, XXXIII, 1950, 92-106). The Milton and Cheadle expedition of 1863 to the Cariboo, and the surveying expedition down the Thompson valley in 1872, of which the Reverend George Munro Grant, afterwards principal of Queen's University, was a member.
- PELHAM-BURN, C. H. *Exploring in the Coast Mountains* (Canadian geographical journal, XLI (2), Aug., 1950, 54-66). Expedition in the summer of 1949 to a little-known section of British Columbia.
- POMERLEAU, RENÉ. *Au sommet de l'Ungava* (Revue de l'Université Laval, IV (9), mai, 1950, 775-91). Account of the expedition of two naturalists to a little-explored region of central Quebec, the Otish mountains, "le pivot de la péninsule du Québec-Labrador."

**(5) Transportation and Communication**

- ABEL, P. M. *The Crow's Nest Pass agreement* (Country guide, May, 1950, 7, 80-2). Background of the freight rates dispute.
- DUGAN, JAMES. *The royal family of the seas* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (15), Aug. 1, 1950, 5, 39-41; LXIII (16), Aug. 15, 1950, 18-19, 26, 28). The story of the Cunard Steamship Company, which "has dominated the Atlantic for 110 years."

**(6) Science**

- JOHNSON, GEO. R. *The history of Canadian medical schools. VIII. McGill University—medical faculty* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIV (3), Nov., 1949, 41-7; XV (1), May, 1950, 1-7).

**VI. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY**

- BANTEY, ED. *Laval's giant strides* (Saturday night, LXV (27), Apr. 11, 1950, 12).
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Le folklore à l'université* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, XXXVI (141), printemps, 1950, 33-6). "L'étude des langues, des coutumes et des arts, surtout lorsqu'elle s'opère sur le vif, parmi les populations de notre continent, devrait être fondamentale, essentielle."
- BIRKS, WILLIAM MASSEY. McGill's principals since 1900 (McGill news, XXXI (4), summer, 1950, 7-12). They include Sir William Peterson, Sir Arthur Currie, Lewis William Douglas, and Dr. F. Cyril James.
- BUTEAU, AMIDÉE. *L'enseignement spécialisé au Québec hier et aujourd'hui* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, XXXVI (141), printemps, 1950, 14-32). The place of technical training in Quebec schools.
- COHEN, MAXWELL. *The condition of legal education in Canada* (Canadian bar review, XXVIII (3), Mar., 1950, 267-314).
- HARRINGTON, M. F. *Education in Newfoundland* (Atlantic guardian, VII (6), June, 1950, 15-24).
- MACKENZIE, N. A. M. and ROWAT, D. C. *The federal government and higher education in Canada* (C.J.E.P.S., XVI (3), Aug., 1950, 352-70). If Canadian universities are to continue to provide the services required of them by the nation, they must have substantial increases in grants, increases which the federal government alone can provide.
- MACSPORRAN, MAYSIE S. *McGill women—then and now* (McGill news, XXXI (4), summer, 1950, 13-17, 87). "Today there is no faculty which closes its doors to women."



- NESS, MARGARET. *UNB: 150 years cum laude* (Saturday night, LXV (32), May 16, 1950, 11).
- PARSONS, J. E. *Pacific challenge* (Saturday night, LXV (36), June 13, 1950, 9). On the distinguished record of the University of British Columbia.
- SNELL, J. F. *The colourful story of "Mac"* (McGill news, XXXI (4), summer, 1950, 40-1, 51-2). "Throughout the world, graduates and former students of Macdonald College may be found in positions of influence and responsibility."
- WALLACE, W. STEWART. *The graduates of King's College, Toronto* (Ontario history, XLII (3), July, 1950, 163-4). The author has examined "the records of the graduates of King's College with a view to getting an idea of what King's College produced."

## VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- ANGLIN, GERALD. *The mechanized missionary of Northwest River* (Maclean's magazine, LXIII (15), Aug. 1, 1950, 18-19, 33-4). "With a snowmobile, a radio transmitter and a cabin cruiser the Rev. Lester Burry fights the isolation of his Labrador parish and brings practical Christian leadership to his people."
- BOON, T. C. B. *Newton of Edmonton* (Canadian churchman, LXXXVII (16), Aug. 17, 1950, 250-1). Life of the Reverend William Newton, pioneer missionary of the upper Saskatchewan.
- PROVOST, HONORIUS. *La Bonne Sainte Anne de Beauce*. (Publication no 3 de la Société Historique de la Chaudière.) Québec: Ferdinand Vaudry. 1950. Pp. 60. History of the chapel from its founding in 1778 to the present.
- *Le dernier voyage de Mgr de Laval* (Revue de l'Université Laval, IV (9), mai, 1950, 792-6). "L'odyssée des restes de Mgr de Laval."

## IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Canada, Public Archives. *Report for the year 1949*. By W. KAYE LAMBE, Dominion archivist. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. xxxiv, 462. \$1.00.
- Canadian Library Association. *Canadian library directory, 1950*. (Reference publication no. 3.) Ottawa: The Association. 1950. Pp. 40.
- HALLIDAY, W. E. D. *The public records of Canada: Recent developments in control and management* (American archivist, XIII (2), Apr., 1950, 102-8).
- KYTE, E. C. *The archives of the United Church of Canada* (American archivist, XIII (3), July, 1950, 229-32). Although in the past lacking an historical sense, the churches that joined to form the United Church of Canada have made progress in the collection and cataloguing of historical documents.
- LAMB, KAYE. "List your book, sir?"—a national bibliography for Canada is in the making (Canadian author and bookman, XXVI (1), spring, 1950, 3-5). Plans for publishing fortnightly bulletins which will list books published by Canadians or about Canada.
- Société des Écrivains Canadiens. *Bulletin bibliographique, année 1949*. Montréal: Éditions de la Société des Écrivains Canadiens. 1950. Pp. 135.

## X. ART AND LITERATURE

- BONENFANT, JEAN-CHARLES. *Les livres canadien-anglais* (Revue de l'Université Laval, IV (9), mai, 1950, 812-26; IV (10), juin, 1950, 932-49). Discusses recent books by English-speaking Canadians.
- BOURINOT, ARTHUR S. *William E. Marshall: His verse and some letters* (Dalhousie review, XXX (2), July, 1950, 196-204). On the Nova Scotian poet who was a figure of importance in literary circles in the early years of this century.

- FRASER, C. F. *The crisis in the arts, letters and sciences* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (1), Apr. 1950, 35-45). *Précis* of the submission of Dalhousie University to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. "Dalhousie University's purpose . . . has been . . . to provide more detailed evidence of the problems affecting institutions of higher learning."
- GUSTAFSON, RALPH. *Writing and Canada* (Northern review, III (3), Feb.-Mar., 1950, 17-22). In spite of indifference and handicaps, contemporary Canadian writers are making a determined effort to reflect validly the qualities of Canada.
- S. J. *Australian art—some comparisons by an Australian in Canada* (Canadian art, VII (4), summer, 1950, 135-9). "In so far as both Canadian and Australian pictures are the products of national environment, they have all those historical similarities which one might expect to find in paintings from two countries which have fairly recently emerged from the pioneering stage."
- MCGILLIVRAY, J. R. (ed.). *Letters in Canada, 1949* (University of Toronto quarterly, XIX (3), Apr., 1950, 259-326; XIX (4), July, 1950, 394-440).
- MALONE, E. M. *All Soul's Chapel, St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island* (Canadian churchman, LXXVII (13), July 6, 1950, 197, 205-6). "A gem of architecture, embellished with fine carving in wood and stone and decorated with the splendid paintings of Robert Harris, C.M.G."
- The manuscript book of Oliver Goldsmith, author of "The Rising Village."* Description and comment by E. COCKBURN KYTE. (Bibliographical Society of Canada, Reprint series no. 4.) Toronto: The Society. 1950. Pp. 4 (mimeo.), 9 (plates). Manuscript facsimile of ninety-two lines of verse, the first published edition of the work of Canada's first native-born, English-speaking poet.
- MOORE, MAVOR. *The Canadian theatre* (Canadian forum, XXX (354), Aug., 1950, 108, 110). "It is not the Canadian artist who is not good enough; it is the Canadian public which is not good enough for the artist."
- PACEY, DESMOND. *Bliss Carman: A reappraisal* (Northern review, III (3), Feb.-Mar., 1950, 2-10). Carman, the author thinks, was a better poet than our recent neglect of him would seem to indicate, although the reputation he enjoyed early in the century was inflated.
- PHELPS, ARTHUR L. *Canadian literature and Canadian society* (Northern review, III (4), Apr.-May, 1950, 23-6, 31-5). The author deplores the lack of interest in Canadian literature in the Canadian universities.
- Some new Rindisbachers* (The beaver, outfit 281, June, 1950, 14-15). Describes and reproduces three water-colours by Peter Rindisbacher, who lived in the Red River Settlement from 1821 to 1826, and who was the first artist to sketch the Indians of the Canadian prairie.
- WOODEY, E. C. *Some literary associations of Montreal* (Canadian author and bookman, XXII (1), spring, 1950, 6-8, 10). Montreal's literary life from 1760 to the present.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### ONTARIO ARCHIVES

The recent announcement that Miss Helen McClung had retired from the position of Provincial Archivist of Ontario was surprising to her friends and the students who have benefited from her many years of careful work. Miss McClung was brought up in Trenton, Ontario, and received her high school education there. Although her work kept her from her home community, she felt that her roots were in the smaller communities of the province. After taking her B.A. and M.A. at Trinity University, before federation, she joined the Archives staff with the late Colonel Alexander Fraser in February, 1915. These were pioneer days in provincial archives work. Indeed, it was only in 1915 that a separate board of graduate studies was instituted at the University of Toronto. Miss McClung had to teach herself how to arrange and calendar historical collections for the use of scholars. Her intelligence and imagination more than compensated for lack of technical training as the system she developed might well be taken as ideal. Her appointment as Provincial Archivist of Ontario in 1939, the first woman archivist in Canada, was just recognition of her efforts. When one realizes how Miss McClung was hampered by lack of adequate staff and quarters, her achievement is all the more remarkable. Never a self-advertiser, she can with confidence allow her work to speak for her to future generations of students. Those of us who know her well would add the wish for many happy years of retirement. [J. J. TALMAN]

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Dr. G. W. Spragge has been appointed Provincial Archivist of Ontario to succeed Miss McClung. Dr. Spragge previously held the post of Supervisor of Local History in the Department of Education and continues as secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Historical Society and editor of *Ontario History*.

### HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD

At the recent annual meeting of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board held in Ottawa, Dr. Fred Landon, retiring vice-president of the University of Western Ontario, was elected chairman to succeed the late Dr. J. Clarence Webster of Shediac, N.B. Two new members have been appointed to the Board, Professor Alfred Bailey, of the University of New Brunswick, who succeeds Dr. Webster as representative from New Brunswick, and Mr. C. E. A. Jeffery, of St. John's, Nfld., who will represent this new province on the Board.

### CANADIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL: PRE-DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS

The Canadian Social Science Research Council has received funds from the Rockefeller Foundation which enables it to offer a number of pre-doctoral fellowships. The value of the fellowships normally ranges from \$750 to \$1,500. Candidates must have completed at least one year's post-graduate work before making application, preferably two years. Other things being equal, preference in awarding fellowships shall be given to candidates who thereby will be enabled to complete their post-graduate programme. A fellowship may be awarded to enable a candidate either to continue his post-graduate study at an approved institution or, if the formal work required for a higher degree has been completed, to enable him to complete his thesis.

The number of fellowships available for any given academic year shall be determined by the Committee. It is not contemplated that a fellowship will be awarded a second time to the same person. Candidates will procure from the Secretary of the Council six copies of the application form at the following address: John E. Robbins, Secretary, Canadian Social Science Research Council, 166 Marlborough Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario.

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#### THE CRERAR GERMAN MILITARY LIBRARY

The Department of National Defence announces that the Crerar German Military Library has been moved to the Royal Military College, Kingston, and that qualified scholars who wish to make use of it will continue to enjoy the same privileges. Information concerning the Library, which until recently was housed at the Department of National Defence, Ottawa, was published in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June, 1947 (pp. 239-40), and March, 1948 (p. 116).

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#### ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY: CANADIAN AFFAIRS WORKSHOP

It is interesting to note that a university in the United States, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York, gave a special course during the past summer session known as the Canadian Affairs Workshop. Its purpose was to develop an understanding of Canada among American students. Major emphasis was laid on Canadian history and government but some attention was also devoted to geography and natural resources, to culture and institutions, and to social and economic problems. The project was under the general direction of Professor William R. Willoughby of St. Lawrence's History and Government Department, but seven other St. Lawrence professors also participated. Guest lecturers were Professor A. R. M. Lower of Queen's University and Flight Lieutenant Keith Greenaway of the Defence Research Board. Extensive use was made of Canadian documentary films and trips were made to Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa. The Ottawa seminar included tours of the Parliament Buildings and the Public Archives and a series of lectures by members of the Departments of External Affairs, National Health and Welfare, and Trade and Commerce. The course carried three hours of college credit and was open to juniors, seniors, and graduate students.

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#### HURONIA HOUSE MUSEUM, MIDLAND, ONTARIO

This remarkable repository of Indian and pioneer life in the district of Huronia was established in 1946. Early in that year, the residence of the late James Playfair, pioneer, lumberman, shipbuilder, and fleet operator, was presented to the town of Midland for use as a museum. A group of enthusiastic citizens, headed by J. H. Cranston as president, Mrs. W. L. Attridge as vice-president, and W. H. Cranston as executive secretary, organized the museum and set about gathering material for exhibition. The north end of Simcoe County was scoured for relics of Indian and pioneer days. Loans of Indian material were made by the Royal Ontario Museum, and its experts assisted in setting up and classifying the many articles.

Eight large rooms and two spacious halls were available. These were rapidly filled with Indian artifacts from prehistoric and Huron days, tools, agricultural and domestic, used by the pioneers of Simcoe County, furniture and household articles from the farm homes of one hundred years ago. Working models and photographs of famous ships that were either built along the Georgian Bay shore or plied the

waters of the Bay were placed on display. Space was also given to military and naval exhibits from a countryside rich in history.

In 1948 Wilfrid W. Jury, curator of the Museum of Indian and Pioneer Life at the University of Western Ontario, built a Huron Indian longhouse alongside Huronia House, which proved a notable attraction. It is hoped that Mr. Jury's work at the Huron Indian village of St. Louis, soon to be started, will result in many new and valuable Indian articles being added to the Museum's collection. Kenneth E. Kidd, archaeologist of the Royal Ontario Museum, furnished a fine collection of specimens from the Ossossane bonepit, seven miles south-west of Midland.

The 1950 season will open with a number of new features. An art gallery will display a considerable number of famed prints of Georgian Bay paintings by famous Canadian artists, also a number of drawings and documents from the Huron Indian era from the Public Archives, Ottawa. An intensely interesting collection of Indian costumes, weapons, headdresses, and other articles, loaned by the estate of the late W. Perkins Bull, will be a feature. Altogether, well over three thousand articles directly related to the pioneer and Indian life of Huronia will be in the cases and on the walls. The new president elected at the annual meeting in January is A. D. Tushingham. Mrs. W. L. Attridge is vice-president, W. H. Cranston is executive secretary, and Major A. C. McCaul is recording secretary and treasurer.

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#### ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

*The Hudson's Bay Company Museum*, Winnipeg, has been rearranged, the theme of the new layout being "Manitoba—Historic Gateway to the North and West." It deals first with the history of Manitoba from 1670 to 1870 and then with the various sections of the North and West. The exhibits include original paintings done on the site of Winnipeg between 1821 and 1824 by Peter Rindisbacher, the young Swiss who was the first to sketch the Western Canadian Indians. Over sixty thousand visitors signed the museum register last year.

*The Legislative Library of the Province of Manitoba* has recently purchased the Alexander Ross collection, which includes the correspondence of Alexander Ross and members of his family, as well as letters of his son-in-law, the Reverend John Black.

*The Public Archives of Nova Scotia* has issued its *Report* for 1949, which contains in two appendices letters on the founding of the Uniacke estate and on the career of its founder, Richard John Uniacke Sr., and documents illustrating the difficulty experienced by lieutenant-governors in adjusting themselves to the new conditions created by the concession of responsible government.

*Western Ontario Historical Notes*. Recent numbers of the bulletin, issued quarterly by the Lawson Memorial Library of the University of Western Ontario, contain articles on the "dead and buried" village of Cashmere, by F. C. Hamil, and on the fractional currency instituted at the town of Perth, Upper Canada, in 1837, by A. M. Campbell.

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## CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Brant Historical Society.* President, Miss Jean Waldie; secretary, Mrs. G. Willoughby; museum secretary, Mrs. A. E. Brown.

*The Brome County Historical Society* has issued a useful index of books and pamphlets containing information on the early history and settlers in the Eastern Townships.

*Historical Society of Alberta.* President, W. E. Edmonds; secretary, the Reverend R. T. Finlay.

*History Association of Montreal.* President, Miss J. M. V. Foster; secretary, Miss H. A. Blott.

*Lincoln County Historical Society.* President, A. E. Coombs; secretary, G. M. Lampard.

*The London and Middlesex Historical Society* held an interesting panel discussion this year, when six elderly residents of London were interviewed by two authorities on the city's history, Dr. E. Seaborn and Mr. Alex Harvey. The audience joined in to debate the reminiscences. The discussion was recorded by the Society on Sound-Scriber equipment. The whole idea of an "old-timers' night" seems a valuable one for making use of personal experience in the field of local history. President, L. R. Gray.

*Lundy's Lane Historical Society.* President, the Reverend Percival Mayes; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. S. C. Tolar.

*The Okanagan Historical Society* has published its *Reports* for 1948 and 1949, which contain numerous and interesting articles on the local history of the Okanagan region.

*Société Historique de Montreal.* Among the papers read before this society during the past year were: "L'Auteur véritable de la réédition des Relations des Jésuites (Québec, 1858)," by T. Charland, O.P.; "Le Corridor des Français—l'exploration du Wisconsin," by H. Morisseau, O.M.I.; and "La Citadelle de Montréal," by Justice E. F. Surveyer. President, Olivier Maurault, P.S.S., P.D., O.B.E.; vice-president, J.-J. Lefebvre; secretary, A. Ferland-Angers.

*The Société Historique du Nord de l'Outaouais* has published during the past year *Le Diocèse d'Ottawa* by Rev. Fr. H. Legros; *Hull* by L. Brault; and a special number of articles in *Le Droit* on June 20, 1950, commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Hull.

*The Société Historique de Saint-Boniface* during the current year heard, among others, papers on "Senateur Girard, premier ministre du Manitoba" by M. Benoist, and on "Les Sioux" by Rev. Fr. Laviolette, O.M.I. It also joined with the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba in December, 1949, in commemorating the second centenary of the death of La Vérendrye. The society maintains a museum, and a library for its members containing a large number of valuable books on early western history. President, Rev. A. D'Eschambault; secretary, Professor A. Corriveau.

